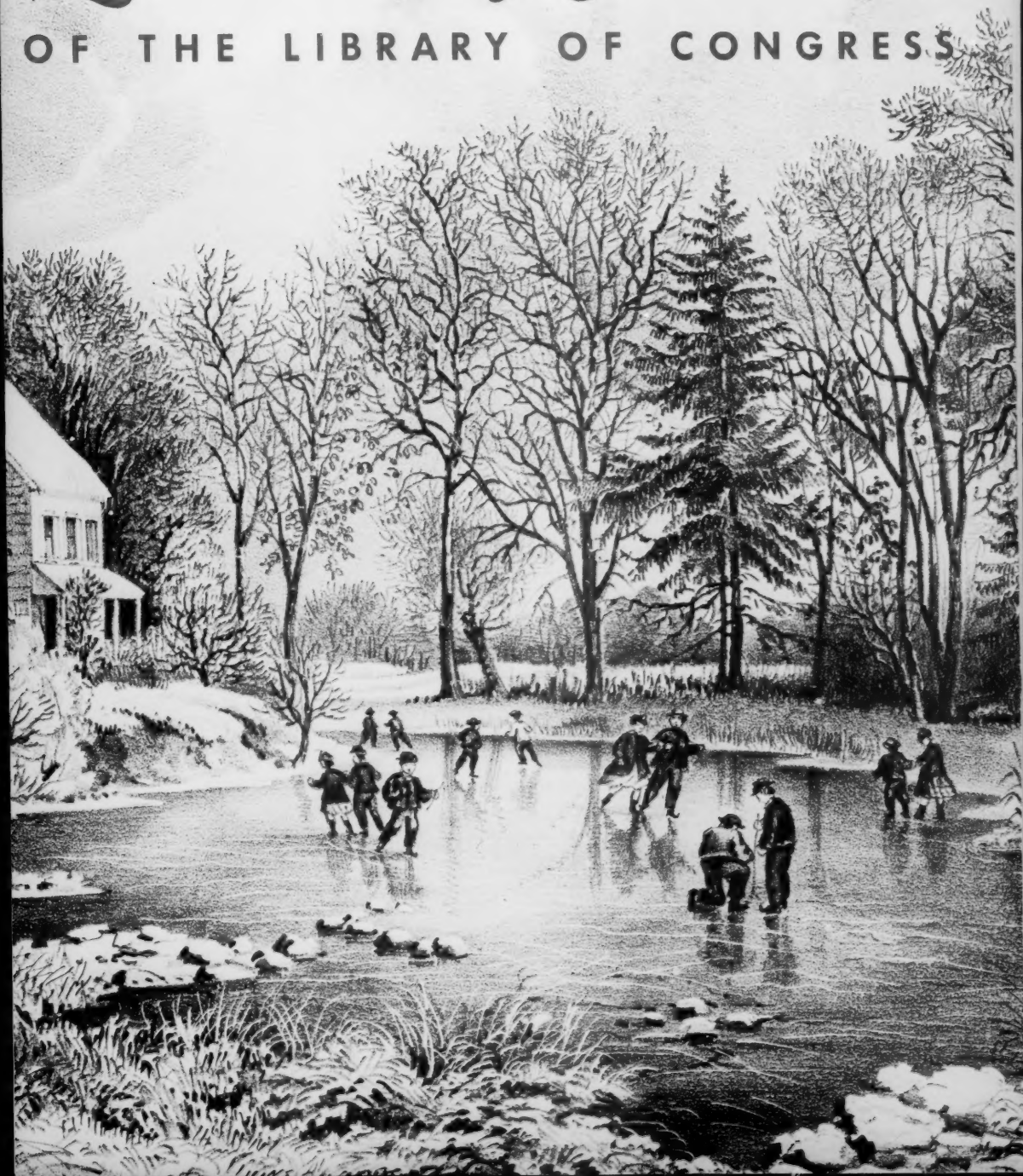


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January 1977

The *Quarterly Journal*

OF THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



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Volume 34 / Number 1 / January 1977

The Quarterly Journal

OF THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

In this issue

- 2 Another American in Paris
George Antheil's Correspondence with Mary Curtis Bok
by WAYNE D. SHIRLEY
- 23 The First Feminist Bible
The "Alderney" Edition, 1876
by MADELEINE B. STERN
- 32 Arnold Schönberg and the Blaue Reiter
by EDGAR BREITENBACH
- 39 T. R. on Film
by VERONICA M. GILLESPIE
- 52 Robert Mills's Atlas of South Carolina
by WALTER W. RISTOW

Sarah L. Wallace, *Editor* / Frederick B. Mohr, *Assistant Editor*

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Editor's Note



y the time this issue of the *Quarterly Journal* reaches the galley stage, the staff of the Library's Publications Office can settle into the quiet state of frenzy—as opposed to the usual frustrated desperation—that passes for relaxation in any publishing operation. The annual report is in press, the Christmas cards have sold well, the last volume of papers in the series of five symposia on the American Revolution has come out, and the brochures needed for the new Congress have come off the press in time. The staff can now turn back to the usual load of manuscripts, proofs, dummies, layouts, estimates, and purchase orders that are the sum and substance of everyday life.

The annual report for fiscal 1976 also covers, to some extent, the transitional quarter occasioned by the change in the fiscal year. As usual, figures for the collections reached amazing totals. On September 30, 1976, materials in all formats in the collections numbered 72,600,000. Included in that figure are 18,000,000 books and pamphlets, 3,600,000 volumes and pieces of music, 32,517,000 manuscripts, 3,572,000 maps, 1,259,000 hard-copy technical reports, 8,500,000 photographic negatives, prints, and slides, and 1,370,000 microfiche. Descending to thou-

sands from millions, we find newspapers in 79,000 bound volumes and on 327,000 reels of microfilm, 436,000 micro-opaques, 829,000 microfilm reels and strips, 562,000 recordings on discs and 79,000 on tapes and wires, 239,000 reels of motion pictures, 179,000 prints and drawings, and 45,000 posters. For blind and physically handicapped readers, books in raised characters or large type numbered 43,000 and talking books on discs or tape, 11,500.

One of the tasks of the *Quarterly Journal* is to bring to its readers, through articles and pictures, some idea of the wealth that lies behind those figures. And one of the joys of the Publications Office staff is to have a part in making known the discoveries that scholars are continually unearthing in materials found in the national collections. For example, in the coming months the *QJ* will carry a picture story on the Alexander Graham Bell family, people who were amazingly at ease in front of a seemingly ever-present camera; a heavily illustrated piece on Frederick Goudy and his type designs; and new information on "To Anacreon in Heaven," the tune to which Francis Scott Key's famous words were set.

SLW

ANOTHER AMERICAN IN PARIS:

*George Antheil's Correspondence
with Mary Curtis Bok*

by Wayne D. Shirley

In November 1921, a young man went to the Merion, Pennsylvania, home of Mrs. Edward Bok, philanthropist and patron of the arts, with a sealed letter from the pianist and teacher Constantin von Sternberg. The letter read in part:

My dear Mrs. Bok:

Please do not think me presumptuous for addressing this letter and—subject to your consent—also its bearer to you. The unusualness of the case, your warm interest in music and your well known charitableness will, I hope, serve as my excuse. . . .

I am morally certain to have discovered in the bearer of this—George Antheil—one of the richest and strongest talents for composition that I have ever met here or in Europe. Its possessor is scarcely more than a boy,¹ of good parentage, well bred, pure minded and of impeccable character. His father went to the limits of his means to foster and develop the boy's talent; but he can go no further and the boy has now to face the struggle for existence. For this struggle, however, he is by his unworldly disposition and lack of experience utterly unfit and even if he were not so, it were a pity if so great a talent as his should be frittered away in some kind of routine occupa-

tion, such as playing in the "movies" or in a "cafe" and thus lose the fine lustre of its *noblesse*—which nothing could ever bring back. . . .

Now, what he needs are the means to hide himself for a year or two in some secluded spot—say, like Mrs. MacDowell's Peterborough—where, living the simplest possible life, he could devote himself to his work without having to earn money for his bodily maintenance.

Believe me, my dear Mrs. Bok, that I did not send the boy to you—if you should wish to see him at all—with any thought of asking you for monetary aid and *I know that such is not his purpose*. He is, however, entirely an "étranger au grand monde": very likeable, but utterly inexperienced in the ways of the world; he has . . . lived so exclusively in and for his work as to have missed all opportunities to make himself known to . . . those that might have been instrumental in procuring for him that repose of mind of which he stands now so much in need. . . .

Let me ask you again not to take for audaciousness what was prompted by my natural love of a talent which, under halfways favorable conditions, is likely to reveal itself as "genius". . . .

Sincerely yours,
C. v. Sternberg.

Wayne D. Shirley is manuscript librarian in the Music Division.

Mrs. Bok decided to call the young man in. He left her study with \$10 in cash in his pocket and a



*George Antheil in his Paris years
as photographed by Man Ray.*

*Mary Louise Bok, ca. 1925. Her standard photograph,
still well known to students at the Curtis Institute,
which she founded in 1924.*

promise of \$150 a month for the next year. One year later he was to remember the meeting in a letter:

I remember all very vividly. I was cold that day, and the ten dollars looked more magnificent than all of the future. That night I hear my master's—Bloch's Suite—at the Philadelphia Orchestra and I sat in the very best seats in my horrible green suit. I remember that I was profoundly happy with the promise of all the great thing I could do now. . . .²

Thus started the relationship of artist and patron between the man who within two years would be known as the enfant terrible of modern music and the woman who would become famous as the founder of the Curtis Institute, one of the great American conservatories. This relationship, which lasted intermittently for nineteen years, was marked by some reluctance on Mrs. Bok's part in its later stages. She seldom mentioned this patronage, and it went unnoticed in the various obituaries which appeared upon her death in 1970.³ Antheil pays her generous homage in his autobiography, *Bad Boy of Music*, but even there the extent and duration of her benefactions are soft-pedaled. Perhaps Antheil sensed her reluctance to be known as his con-



tinuing patron. The extent and vicissitudes of this relationship can now be studied in the collection of correspondence between George Antheil and Mary Louise Bok, recently given to the Music Division of the Library of Congress by Mrs. Bok's heirs.

This article is not an attempt at a detailed study of Mrs. Bok's patronage of George Antheil; rather, it uses the story of the first ten years of that patronage as the line on which to hang the quotations which are the article's *raison d'être*. If this work concentrates on the first ten years it is not because the remaining nine are of lesser interest but because too long a line of this sort tends to sag dangerously. Perhaps the line would be tauter if this study stopped at the Carnegie Hall concert of 1927, but that depressing event has been used so often as a point of summation for Antheil's career that it seems worth risking a slight slackening of the line to push on past it.

When Antheil left Mrs. Bok's study feeling, as he wrote in his first letter to her, "rich and happy like a very real king," he went not to find a place "like Mrs. MacDowell's Peterborough," as von Sternberg had suggested, but to find a room in Philadelphia, for Mrs. Bok had suggested that he could help earn his \$150 per month by working at the Philadelphia Settlement Music School, which she had founded in 1917. It seems that 2200 Pine Street, Philadelphia, served Antheil as well as Peterborough could have, for it was there that he completed his first symphony, which he straightway dedicated "For the happiness of Mary Louise Bok." He also showered Mrs. Bok with letters relating his musical activities and describing his goals as a composer. Perhaps the best of these descriptions is the one in a letter dated in pencil March 24, 1922:⁴

I want my music to be a great human thing; a thing of the great lonelines I have felt since childhood—and of my great joys. . . . I am not a freak, a radical, a futurist. If my music seems strange to others; it seems very homely and natural to me. I love its little commonplaces, its tunes and its inexorable harmonies that bring out the point just right. For me it is just the right kind of music.

Antheil's next letter was to start the process which turned what Mrs. Bok had envisioned as temporary help for a promising young man into a long-continued patronage. In a letter sent special delivery on April 17, 1922, Antheil wrote suggesting that he undertake a tour of Europe as a pianist. M. H. Hanson, who had been manager of the radical composer-pianist Leo Ornstein, believed that Antheil could

be made self-supporting as a pianist if he would give a series of successful European concerts. Antheil's version of the plan, as related to Mrs. Bok, was:

This is what I must ask to begin. I have saved \$100, and still \$900 comes to me, you say until November in monthly allowances. . . . To this (which I ask might be made into a lump sum) I ask that you add . . . whatever is necessary, as Hanson thinks, to finance the trip and the preliminaries of my concert career. I have no idea what the sum might be—how large or how small—I did not ask him because I was afraid I might lose courage. . . . P.S. . . . whatever sum you might have to add to the sum already mentioned I shall some day pay back. Please do not oppose this attitude of mine. It is for my own good. This is understood always henceforth.

Earlier in the letter he had asked: "Please do not mind what I write about money. If you say 'no' let our friendship and letters go on just as if nothing had happened or a magic will have been spoiled in my life."

Five days later M. H. Hanson wrote Mrs. Bok enthusiastically about Antheil's talent and included two figures for the cost of European tours: an extensive tour costing \$6,400 and a small tour costing \$3,900. Mrs. Bok agreed to the larger tour.⁵ Antheil sent two elaborate letters of thanks, one of them with details of the programs he hoped to play in London. He and Hanson sailed on May 30 for Europe, the continent where Antheil would spend more than nine of his next eleven years.

Antheil's first concerts, in England, brought kindly but somewhat patronizing reviews which Antheil, always touchy about reviews, took as negative. On July 4 he went to Germany, primarily to study in Berlin with Artur Schnabel but also to take in the second Donaueschinger Festival of Chamber Music, the showcase for new German composers. Antheil reported to Mrs. Bok, with a cockiness which may have been partly assumed to cover the hurt of the English reviews of his concerts:

I am full to the brim with the much-heralded music of the young Germans. I am full to the brim because I have heard it—and it compares with my workmanship and ideas of about two years back. I too have written and developed works upon strictly classical foundations but I do believe that today it is quite necessary to have an entire new concept of form.

Much later in this twenty-one-page letter, dated in pencil August 1922, he describes this "new concept of form":

We of the future find our sense of organization from Picasso rather than Beethoven or Stravinsky for that matter. We should find our sense of form and time-spaces molded by months and months of studying the sculptores of Branchusi or Lipchitz—rather than the architecture, so marvelous in its way that gave Debussy's music a perfection seldom attained by any master. We find our psychology with James Joyce or Gertrude Stein—rather than Jean Cocteau * no matter how *modern he is!*—also.

Antheil did not feel superior to all his fellow composers. In the same letter in which he reminisces about his first meeting with Mrs. Bok, a letter dated December 1922, Berlin, Antheil describes his first meeting with the composer he admired above all others:

... the greatest event of my life befell me, I met Stravinsky, and because I met him, he changed his Berlin visit of two days to fifteen, and refusing to see all other people spent his time only with me, and it ended by our swearing the deepest and most eternal of friendship and upon parting at the Friedrichstrasse Bahnhof, we both wept, embraced, and Stravinsky after the Russian fashion kissed me upon both cheeks, and asked that the time before our next meeting be as short as possible!!!!

In the early months of 1923 Antheil gave a series of concerts in Central Europe. The concerts were received very well, Antheil's own music created a sensation, and there were repeated requests for return engagements; but the staggering rate of German inflation made Antheil's stay financially perilous. In February 1923, Antheil wrote to Mrs. Bok, quoting (in German) his many excellent reviews and then confessing:

In spite of all this, the mission of this letter is another purpose. I am out of money, and in three weeks I shall not have another dollar. This in spite of the fact that I am one of the seven or ten pianists in Middle Europe who [can] actually fill a concert hall. . . .

The sudden fall of the marks has left me stranded. I have sold everything. I have no other alternative than to ask you upon the face of my almost now certain success in America to either help me further until this time is reached [i.e., the time when his American success will be certain], or to send me just enough to again reach New York, where, because I have not yet accomplished the work that I set out to do—of becoming noted and notorious in Europe as a new ultramodern pianist composer, I shall still be unable to earn a lively hood that will enable me to carry out my composition.

This was something Mrs. Bok had not bargained for. She wrote him a letter mixing encouragement with caution on March 18 but declined to support him with a further large amount of money:

As a human being, & a man, you must row your own weight—and take care of yourself. You cannot go on, reap-

ing concert plaudits & appearances ad lib.—being indefinitely backed, by a woman! I gave you your opportunity to be heard—to study—to see other countries—& meet people—to the extent of \$6,000—a big sum. I expected it would bring you to a point where you would be able to make connections for yourself—& then float yourself, financially. How? By teaching—writing—working, in some way. If you go on, with the developing of a piano technique as your only work, I shall be disappointed—for you'll be failing, as a human being & a man.

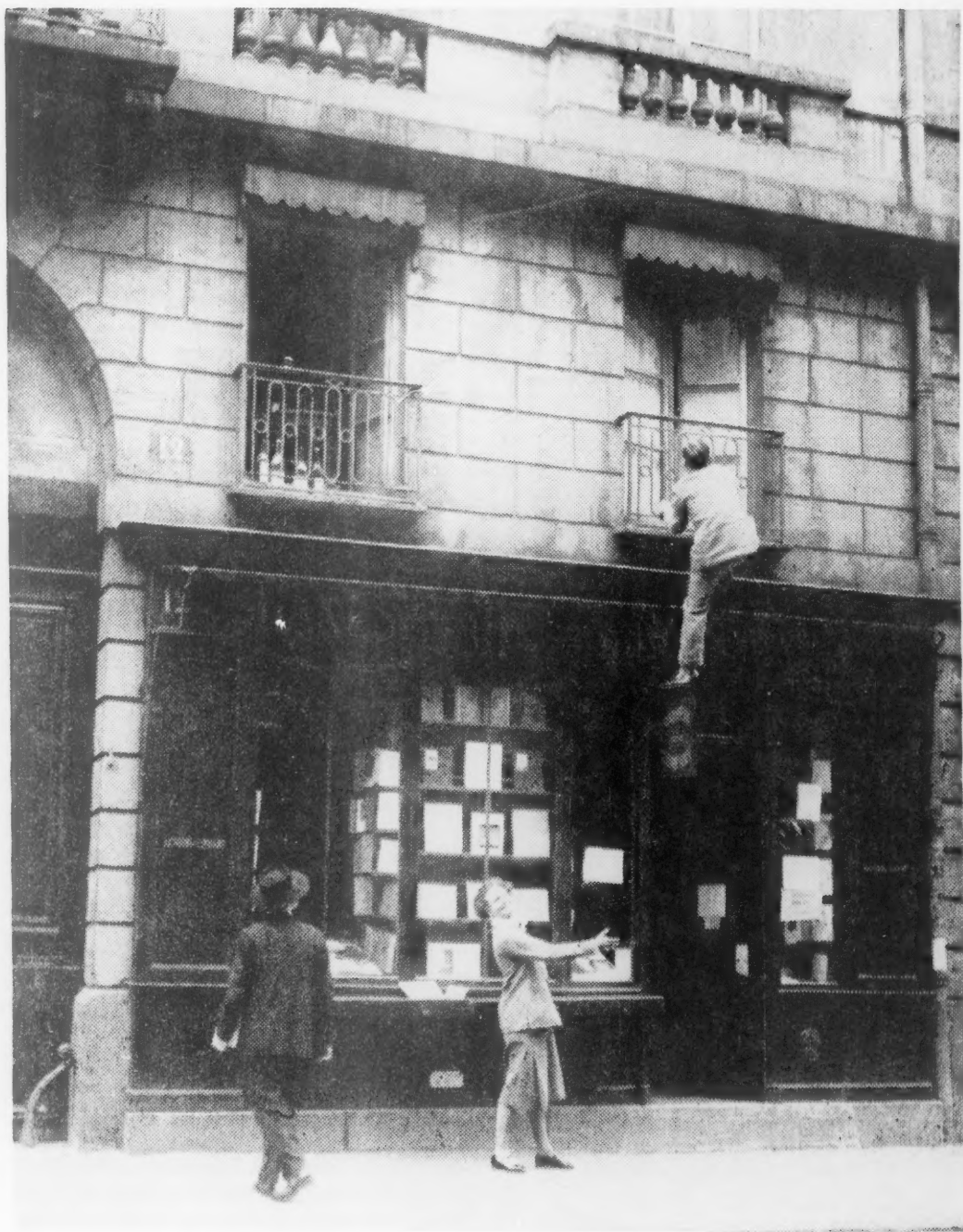
Mrs. Bok cabled Antheil \$500, and promised him \$500 more plus boat fare back to New York if he needed it. This, she said, was to be the full extent of her further aid. She ended reassuringly:

I've written very frankly—but it does not imply any change in my feelings towards you. I do believe in you—& rejoice in your successes—& I want you to grow, in Every way. As a man, as well as a musician. If you were my own son, I'd not write differently—nor would I do more, financially—even if I could!

It was the first letter that Mrs. Bok had been careful enough to keep a copy of.

From this point on a painful note recurs in the correspondence. At their first meeting Mrs. Bok had warned Antheil of "the corrosive effect of money on friendship."⁷ Despite Antheil's efforts, the corrosive effect creeps in. Sometimes whole letters are devoted to the financial difficulties under which Antheil labors, and an occasional paragraph even seems to suggest that Mrs. Bok had been unfair in limiting her financial help.

More frequent are the charges that Hanson had mismanaged the funds given him for promoting Antheil; that Antheil could have spent the \$6,000 more wisely; and that most of the money went into Hanson's pocket. These charges grow shriller through the next years until early 1926, when Antheil suggests to Mrs. Bok that they jointly sue Hanson to recover the remainder of the money. At this point (February 12, 1926) Mrs. Bok cabled her unwillingness to do any such thing and Antheil dropped the subject. Not only is Hanson's integrity as a manager attacked, but in a letter sent in July 1925 Antheil hints that Hanson propositioned him in Berlin. There is no particular reason to doubt Antheil's charge. Indeed it might explain why Antheil preferred to run the second part of his concert tour under his own haphazard management rather than have further dealings with Hanson. After all these charges it is sobering to find the following in a letter from Hanson to Mrs. Bok dated January 23, 1924:



Meantime I am very distressed to think that [Antheil] is very hard up. Are you aware of that, and do you feel that you would like to send him small sums, \$50.00 or \$100.00, at a time, to keep him from starving, to enable him to hire a piano, which he tells me he now has not got?

By May⁸ Antheil is receiving seventy-five dollars monthly from Mrs. Bok for living expenses.⁹ None of Antheil's letters suggested such an agreement. It seems likely that Hanson, whom Antheil regarded as the enemy, was instead the initial suggester of this stipend which Antheil received for the next seven years (the amount only changing).¹⁰ Antheil frequently expressed his thanks for this money. Here is an excerpt from a letter written in December 1924:

I cannot tell you what a Godsend these monthly checks have been. They have been life itself. I am regaining my health and working, putting every franc into worth. If they should stop I should have to seek pupils, and in a while I would be too tired and sick to work all night at composition besides. . . . At the beginning of every month I am a case of nerves, in spite of the fact that I feel you will not abandon me now, that I am proving my worth to the whole world, and "making good."

If the financial sections of Antheil's letters from the mid-1920s are often depressing, other aspects of the letters are fascinating. This is the Antheil who is featured in practically every book of reminiscences of Paris life in the twenties, from *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* to Robert McAlmon's *Being Geniuses Together*; whose own autobiography, *Bad Boy of Music*, is one of the most entertaining of such works; and who shares center stage with Gertrude Stein in another of the most enjoyable books of the genre, Bravig Imbs's delightful if little-known *Confessions of Another Young Man*. These were the years when Antheil crashed Henry Purcell concerts with James Joyce, introduced Virgil Thomson to Gertrude Stein, and had his music lauded by Ezra Pound in *Antheil and the Treatise on Harmony*. This work, an extraordinary book even for Pound, was somewhat of an embarrassment to Antheil. To Mrs. Bok he apologized, "*ANYTHING*, no matter what utter rot it *MIGHT* be, will be important as a historical document that

Pound writes" (July 6, 1925). Imbs noted, "[Antheil] always felt grateful to Pound for the latter's opus, but I thought the gratitude should be the other way around."

It was also the period during which Antheil's most famous works, including the *Ballet Mécanique*, were written. Some of these works are only referred to obliquely in the letters to Mrs. Bok. Others, particularly the *Symphony for Five Instruments*, are talked about in great detail.

The first of Antheil's letters from Paris is dated in pencil July 26, 1923. The address is already the magic 12 rue de l'Odéon, Sylvia Beach's bookstore, Shakespeare and Company, where a generation of literary pilgrims came to buy *Ulysses* from its publisher—and, perhaps, to watch Antheil, who had lost his key again, climb up the shop front to his second-story room. Antheil, in his first Paris letter, besides giving Mrs. Bok the unpleasant news that his concert clothes had been stolen in Germany, comments on the reason for his moving to Paris:

The reason I rushed to Paris was because of Strawinsky. He wished to see me immediately about his appearance in America . . . and as I was the only one of his American friends whom he could talk like a brother to, he asked me for private counsel. As there was some talk in the beginning of my accompanying Strawinsky to America (for he says that I am the best pianist of his piano works) for a Strawinsky-propaganda-conducting tour, I rushed here, in reality, to feel out the exact situation, but I found that so much had taken place since then . . . that it was practically hopeless. I renewed, however, my friendship with Strawinsky, and decided to stay here for good while it is less expensive than Berlin.

By October, he is already a sensation:

On Thursday night, October 4th, I played to the most brilliant audience in Paris at the beautiful Champ Elysees Theatre. The theatre didn't cost me anything, because a great Parisian motion picture company making a great film of Parisian life, need one scene in which a full dressed audience broke into a great uproar—not a lot of film people, but real concert goers, and a real concert flurry.¹¹

Margaret Anderson, who was here, heard about the need of this motion picture company and suggested that George Antheil had been causing riots all over central Europe by his playing, and that he should be the one to play.

All of the celebrities of Paris were invited. All came, for I have been here all summer, and a great number of people have been talking about me. The rest of the audience came because the celebrities came, and the rumor had gotten out that there was to be a novel evening of futurist music, and that later the audience was to be in a moving picture. . . .

In the audience was Man Ray, Picasso, Jean Cocteau, Picabia, and Heaven knows who else. In one box alone sat James Joyce, the author of *Ulysses*, and today called by

George Antheil demonstrates his method of entering his apartment without a key while Sylvia Beach, his landlady, points. Courtesy of Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc.

all of the critics the greatest writer of prose since Shakespeare. . . .

In another box sat Léger the second greatest painter in the world after Picasso. With him sat Ezra Pound, the world's greatest modern critic, the man who made Brancusi, Picasso, and was heavily responsible for Joyce—(he has just yesterday sent in a thirty page article to the "Criterion" . . . upon ME—in which he thoroughly analyzes my music, and says that I am the only artist who has revolutionized any one of the arts during the last three years—and "the only thing that America has ever given us." . . .

As to the actual performance. After the first movement of my newest sonata there was bedlam!

Actually I thought that the Champ Elysees Theatre would break down. I have lived through famous evening in Budapest and Vienna—but Paris!!!!—it was terrible. I have become famous here in a night.

They schreeched, they whistled: another and equally strong part of the audience clapped and yelled bravo until they were quite hoarse. . . .

Pound stood up in his prominent box—a great creature with a beard, and yelled:

"Down with the pigs!!!!!!!!!!!!!!"—in French that sounds worse than in English.

Never had there been such a night in Paris since the first performance of Strawinsky's "Sacre du Printemps," when no one after the first few bars, heard a single note of the music.

Great historic times!

Well thats that.

Mrs. Bok's reaction to this letter may have been somewhat less enthusiastic than Anthel had expected. One also wonders what her reaction was when, two months later, she received a letter from the "great creature with a beard" himself:

Dec. 15th, 1923

Dear Mrs. Bok:

It may possibly interest you to know that George Anthel whom you discovered some years ago, scored no inconsiderable success here at the Salle du Conservatoire on Tuesday.

I enclose Herald's account. The interview with me printed in the Tribune is authentic and I am perfectly ready to support my opinions there expressed. I am printing a long essay in the April Criterion giving my detailed reasons. (At least the editor assures me that the article will appear then), and I have also associated Anthel with me in the direction of the musical section of the Transatlantic Review.

(slight printer's error in Tribune article; but the general tenor is correct—I think Anthel is Stawinsky's most formidable competitor in modern composition.)

sincerely yours
Ezra Pound

Whatever Mrs. Bok's reaction to this letter may have been, she filed it with Anthel's own letters to her. Thus Pound's letter is now a part of the Music Division's Anthel-Bok collection.

In 1924 two subjects which were to be of importance to Anthel later in his life surfaced briefly in the correspondence. One is "Anthelized Notation," a modernized form of piano notation in which Anthel was to invest—and lose—heavily during the late 1930s. The other can best be dealt with by quoting from Anthel's brief undated letter of early 1924:

A new incident has come up, and if you wish to take up the matter possibly you will be in some really valuable pictures. In Germany, over a year and a half ago I came into possession of a collection of modern pictures from a Russian friend of mine who was leaving the country for Russia. He subsequently disappeared, but left directions that the pictures were to become my property. For a few dollars with the enormous valuta of that time, I added a few more to the collection. . . . I left directions in Germany that they were to be shipped to Miss Jane Heap of the "Little Review." . . . now, I have just received a tearful letter from Jane Heap saying that they intend to charge her just forty-nine dollars for the freight across the Atlantic. . . . Jane says that she just hasn't the money to pay it, and as the pictures were to have belonged to me, asks me to forward it.

I have only just 650 francs left in the bank, and still ill with no prospect of making any more for a long time, so I cannot possibly send it. I have been wondering if you would accept a little present from me,—this series of pictures, if you would pay the freight upon them. . . . There are three Kubins, two Legers . . . a small Picasso, several medium Bobermans, and one unexcelled Hossia-son, . . . three very large Dungerts (cubistic) and quite a large collection of smaller drawings.

Mrs. Bok duly paid the forty-nine dollars and collected the paintings, which she stored for Anthel rather than treating them as her own. The further history of these paintings, and the crucial part they played in Anthel's career in the early 1940s, can be read about in *Bad Boy of Music*, pp. 316–17, where Anthel mentions that among the "large collection of smaller paintings" were a Derain and a Miró. It is sobering to think that at today's prices this collection would have more than repaid Mrs. Bok for her entire investment in Anthel.

A third occurrence of 1924 should also be noted here. In May Mrs. Bok founded the Curtis Institute, endowing it with \$12.5 million.

From the beginning of Anthel's Paris stay announcements of pieces come thick and fast. A second symphony (now lost),¹² "the newest and most profound thing I have done, and its iconoclism is

The cover of Anthel's 1924 proposal for a new "Anthelized Notation." (The tune is "Ach du lieber Augustin.") Music Division.

ANTICIPICIZED NOTATION

OR MUSIC FOR EVERYBODY WHO CAN TELL ONE FROM TWO,

AND TWO FROM THREE .

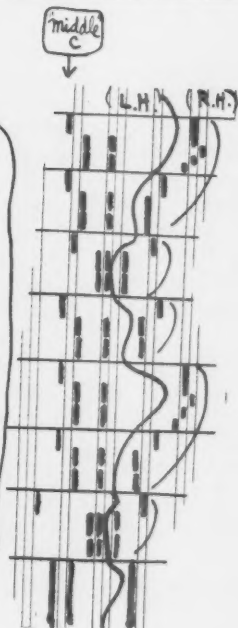
Without previous experience anyone can now read music
AT SIGHT.

INSTANTANEOUS SYSTEM OF READING MUSIC.

TRY THIS OVER UPON YOUR PI/NO.

Fact!

put your fingers
on the keys pictured,
hold them as long
relatively to the other,
as indicated, and
you're a finished reader
and musician fit to
play in the most difficult
keys — anything,
if you are willing to
train your fingers to
move as fast as you
can read!



the most radical experiment ever tried in music," is announced in his second letter from Paris. In December 1923, Antheil sends Mrs. Bok, as a Christmas present, the first sketch of a quintet which is to become the *Symphony for Five Instruments*. By January 17, 1924, he had written two violin sonatas for Olga Rudge, Ezra Pound's mistress, the second one containing a coda in which the pianist switches to two drums. Pound would occasionally play the drums in concert.

In May comes the first detailed mention of the *Ballet Mécanique*, the work for player pianos, pianos, and percussion which was to be both his fame and his bane in later years:

What is definitely an engagement for my "Ballet Mécanique" with decor and staging by F. Leger, the designer of "Skating Rink" by the new Theatre Beriza, means a month more work on the orchestration, and Paris has a brand new work on a different line, than the last Stravinsky, which is just what it is anxiously awaiting.

Later letters mention the progress of the work: in July 1925 the player piano rolls are almost ready; in October 1925,¹³ Antheil announces that it has been performed privately creating "a twenty day sensation." (Antheil himself was not at this performance, which is described in amusing detail on pages 52 to 58 of Imbs's *Confessions of Another Young Man*. Only the player piano part was played, and by a single player piano; Joyce said of one section "That's like Mozart.") He adds news about a possible New York concert: "The Ballet Mécanique will also be played, [in N.Y.] with absolute certainty. It is one of the most radical pieces of music ever written, symbolic of New York crushing our negro." (This is the one bit of explaining of the "meaning" of the *Ballet Mécanique* occurring in the letters to Mrs. Bok.)

Three of the works of Antheil's early Paris period are discussed in some detail in Antheil's letters to his patroness. It is particularly gratifying that one of them is the most tantalizing of Antheil's lost works, the opera *Cyclops*, now unknown save for a few excerpts printed in the review *This Quarter*. In a letter dated in pencil November 15, 1924, Antheil describes it as:

a work which I am doing in collaboration with James Joyce, the author of *Ulysses*—an "opera" although it is really nothing like one at all. It is more accurately a dynamic, a new kind of musical force quite separate from "Le Sacre du Printemps." There are twelve mechanical pianos, which are used in such a way so that no

human fingers could play them—together with xylophones, drums and tympanies, other instruments, such as saxaphones which play into amplifiers—and quite a bit of other mechanical instruments. Those who have heard it are very excited about it—and the Provincetown Players in New York signed the thing up for New York next winter right away.

Later, in August 1925, he wrote Mrs. Bok in response to a newspaper clipping she had sent him with the notation "how is one to take such a person seriously?":

My opera has been accepted for London, and the librettist is a very great living writer who has cooperated with me upon it. I have done it as well as I know how, and because I happen to have used 12 pianos [i.e., player pianos, or had he decided to use regular pianos?] in the score, every foolish reporter makes a scandal of it. . . . I have, in two works, the *Ballet Mécanique*, and the *Cyclops*, used the piano as a BASIS of sonority, just as all of the composers preceding used the strings as the BASIS of sonority for their orchestras.

The *Cyclops* episode of *Ulysses*, with its alternation of bar-chat and megalithic saga-speech, would certainly have been ideal material for such a work as Antheil envisaged. Yet, in the end, despite the interest of both London and New York groups, the work was never performed. (A letter dated July 9, 1925, seems to imply that it had been completed. Antheil was, however, likely to represent nearly done or all-done-but-the-scoring as done.) It is not hard to guess the reason for the abandonment of *Cyclops*. As the preparations for the performance of *Ballet Mécanique* proceeded, Antheil must have become more and more aware of the problems of synchronizing more than one player piano. *Ballet Mécanique* was finally done with a single player piano to avoid these problems (Imbs's *Confessions*, p. 97, briefly mentions the problems created by the multiple player pianos in rehearsal). *Cyclops* would simply be too difficult to mount.¹⁴

Ballet Mécanique and *Cyclops* are the two mastodons of Antheil's Paris period. The other two works of this period described in some detail in Antheil's letters to Mrs. Bok are chamber works, and these subscribe to the aesthetic which Antheil had described in an article in *Der Querschnitt*¹⁵ as "the Banal"—an aesthetic which he had derived partly from works such as Stravinsky's *L'Histoire du*

Manuscript first sketch of the Symphony for Five Instruments, sent by Antheil as a Christmas present to Mrs. Bok in 1923. Music Division.

First page to a rapid sketch-idea for
woodwind + brass + viola quintet.

for dear Mary Louise Roth
Merry Christmas from

George Pothel

Paris, 1923

The image shows a handwritten musical score on ten staves. The notation is a mix of notes, rests, and various markings, including circled letters (a, b, c) and handwritten annotations. The score is written in a style that suggests a rapid sketch or a working draft. The annotations include:

- Stato* (written above the first staff)
- Stato* (written above the second staff)
- Stato* (written above the third staff)
- Stato* (written above the fourth staff)
- Stato* (written above the fifth staff)
- Stato* (written above the sixth staff)
- Stato* (written above the seventh staff)
- Stato* (written above the eighth staff)
- Stato* (written above the ninth staff)
- Stato* (written above the tenth staff)
- Stato* (written above the eleventh staff)
- Stato* (written above the twelfth staff)
- Stato* (written above the thirteenth staff)
- Stato* (written above the fourteenth staff)
- Stato* (written above the fifteenth staff)
- Stato* (written above the sixteenth staff)
- Stato* (written above the seventeenth staff)
- Stato* (written above the eighteenth staff)
- Stato* (written above the nineteenth staff)
- Stato* (written above the twentieth staff)
- Stato* (written above the twenty-first staff)
- Stato* (written above the twenty-second staff)
- Stato* (written above the twenty-third staff)
- Stato* (written above the twenty-fourth staff)
- Stato* (written above the twenty-fifth staff)
- Stato* (written above the twenty-sixth staff)
- Stato* (written above the twenty-seventh staff)
- Stato* (written above the twenty-eighth staff)
- Stato* (written above the twenty-ninth staff)
- Stato* (written above the thirtieth staff)
- Stato* (written above the thirty-first staff)
- Stato* (written above the thirty-second staff)
- Stato* (written above the thirty-third staff)
- Stato* (written above the thirty-fourth staff)
- Stato* (written above the thirty-fifth staff)
- Stato* (written above the thirty-sixth staff)
- Stato* (written above the thirty-seventh staff)
- Stato* (written above the thirty-eighth staff)
- Stato* (written above the thirty-ninth staff)
- Stato* (written above the fortieth staff)
- Stato* (written above the forty-first staff)
- Stato* (written above the forty-second staff)
- Stato* (written above the forty-third staff)
- Stato* (written above the forty-fourth staff)
- Stato* (written above the forty-fifth staff)
- Stato* (written above the forty-sixth staff)
- Stato* (written above the forty-seventh staff)
- Stato* (written above the forty-eighth staff)
- Stato* (written above the forty-ninth staff)
- Stato* (written above the fiftieth staff)

Soldat. He describes one of the works, the first string quartet, in the letter of November 15, 1924, quoted above on *Cyclops*:

[Speiser, a Philadelphia musician] has asked me for the String Quartette for the quartette in Philadelphia—so you will soon have a chance to hear some of my music in Philadelphia this Autumn if you are there.

About the quartette—it is very radical—and it will surprise and perhaps offend you by its desperate banality. But it is the banality of a Picasso, I hope, or a Matisse. It sounds exactly like a third rate string orchestra in Budapest trying to harmonize kind of mongrel Hungarian, or would-be Hungarian themes—but doing it with kind of a brilliant success—“getting away with it.” I want to represent the kind of drunken energy of mediocrity—and sometimes really the music sound totally misplaced and very very shocking, although I had no thought of satire when I wrote it—merely and only, and always music.

And later, in a letter written in December 1924, he says that in the quartet, “I am trying to tell you something about Trenton, which, for all that might be Philadelphia.”¹⁶

The other work of the “banal” style described in detail is the subject of a story which marks the start of another chapter in the relation between Antheil and Mrs. Bok. In July 1925, Antheil broke a silence of six months’ duration with a rash of letters and telegrams maintaining that Mrs. Bok should support the American composer as well as the American performer (whom she had supported by founding Curtis). He represents himself as the only truly significant young American composer and outlines what it would cost to support his composing activities as well as his living expenses. He comes up with a sum of \$5,800, of which \$2,000 will definitely be used, the rest being required only for the purpose of guarantees.¹⁷

Mrs. Bok replied to this request:

Yes, that is so, but how am I to know whether or not YOU are a great talent. I care for nothing that other people, especially your friends in Europe, have to say about you. I must judge for myself. Send me some of your music so that I can hear it, and then I will say.¹⁸

Lying close to hand was Antheil’s *Symphony for Five Instruments*, the work whose first sketch Antheil had sent Mrs. Bok as a Christmas present in 1923. He was proud of the work and it would be easy to arrange for its performance. In October 1925 Antheil wrote this letter to accompany the piece:

I am enclosing the score you ask for.¹⁹ It is my little “Symphony for Five Instruments.” I am not exactly sure that I am wise in sending you this curious little work, when I know that you like my “Golden Bird Chinoiserie”

and which score I have here orchestrated four years ago, and which I could have as easily sent you instead. But in this little humble score is a truer music, even if a more banal and unpretentious music, that comes straighter from my heart. I should rather have you know me more truly always, and this little symphony written now several years ago in Europe, will be a good stepping stone. . . . While you are hearing it you must keep in mind that you are listening to five old soldiers playing in Warsaw upon a Sunday afternoon, and with all their faults they wallop-up a kind of cheap, homely but beautiful music in their enthusiastic way, a music that comes straight from the heart, and the potatoes and onions boiling out in the kitchen. It has no “sense of climax” and all of the themes come out of a common theme, which is never once expressed throughout the whole piece. Were this not so, it would lack tightness, which it does not. But it is a new form, and will demand several hearings. If one is a simple person, and can also see humor in the Victorian period, especially in Warsaw (which is 1904) one will like this music. One must listen to it like a novel of Turgenev.

But above all, do not be in a hurry. Otherwise you will hear nothing in these apparent commonplaces.

The letter which contains this description also contains a set of thanks for \$1,000, which Mrs. Bok had sent without waiting to hear his music and which, he says, he is going to put into the publication of his pieces. It also contains the announcement of a milestone: he has married Böske Markus, who was to be the good genius of the rest of his life.

Later, Antheil became concerned about the impression that the *Symphony for Five Instruments* would make on Mrs. Bok. In February 1926 he wrote a letter enclosing a nine-page typescript entitled *Many Thoughts for M.L.B. and a Key to My Music (To Be Remembered While Listening to It)*, an excess for which he later apologized. In *Many Thoughts* he wrote of the piece:

Obviously a parade of themes, apparently having no relation with one another: or tastelessly repeated themes, hauled in again by the scruff of the neck, a lop-sided and terribly long first movement, and three short other movements like an afterthought.²⁰ Unless [i.e., only if] you have been here, and seen the slick and obvious forms, the pressed-together tricks of telegraphic writing, the extreme rhythmical-form virtuosity of Stravinsky, or the extreme contrapuntal-form virtuosity of Schönberg, will you find a breath of fresh air in this piece. Then, only, again, will you find the beauty of simplicity and naivety—and not mistake it for amateurish incompetence. And it is only after this you will also discover that these themes are NOT in the form of a parade, but all a part of a common theme and that the brusque recapitulations are not amateurish but fresh and giving a new direction to the whole form which is NOT lop-sided but quite as formal as any other piece, but in another world, a new concept.

The first description of the piece which Antheil furnishes to Mrs. Bok is interesting not only in itself

but in its variance with the description of the work in *Bad Boy of Music*—where Antheil says it represents Paris days with Böske—and in a letter to his friend Stanley Hart in which he describes the piece as “like a Sunday afternoon in Trenton.”²¹ Oddly enough, the spunky, scrappy little piece fits all these descriptions nicely—a homemade music with the bravery to stand up for itself in the concert world.

While the preparations for the full performance of *Ballet Mécanique* and the letters to Mrs. Bok about the *Symphony for Five Instruments* were progressing, Antheil was undergoing a change in his style of composition. He felt, he later explained, that the *Ballet Mécanique* had gone as far as it was possible to go in the aesthetic of the machine and that a change in style was necessary.

Bridging the two styles were a third sonata for violin and piano and a piece commissioned by Paul Whiteman:

While in Africa, I suddenly decided to take an offer from Paul Whiteman's orchestra to write a piece for them. A great deal of excitement last year was expended over a very mediocre piece “Rhapsodie in Blue” by Gershwin. They want to duplicate it this year with an Antheil piece played by Mr. Antheil himself, accompanied by the Whiteman orchestra, December 28th, New York.²² As it was a thing which appealed very much to my sense of humor, and as a sporting thing which every American who calls himself a composer—or Better!—every composer who calls himself an American, should take.

So I've taken it!

[Dated in pencil October 19, 1925]

The first composition to be written entirely in Antheil's “new style” was the *Symphonie en Fa*, a work which he completed in 1926 and which he dedicated, as he had dedicated its predecessor, to Mrs. Bok. In August 1925, in a letter in which he says that he is sending the newly cut piano rolls of *Ballet Mécanique* to Mrs. Bok, he contrasts the two works:

My new symphony is quite the opposite of the Ballet Mécanique, although the two works in my mind have a very definite connecting link. I could not have written the one without having written the other.

The first quarter of my symphony does not employ any chords which Beethoven, for instance, did not use.²³ The second part, is quite what you would probably call “discordant,” while the third (at the moment still uncompleted) is again the broadest of concords. It is a kind of monument I have built to my last musical love—Beethoven. Its influence is Beethoven, expressed in my way.

Antheil's new style antagonized some old friends, including Ezra Pound, for whom such a style was

mere neoclassicism and thus the enemy. Indeed there is a letter from Pound in the Music Division's collection summing up his attitude:²⁴

30 Oct. 1927

Dear George

I am not particularly interested in anything you have done since *Ballet Mécanique*. The third violin sonata an excellent piece of work, but am not sure it needed you to write it.

I was not aware that I had ever had any influence on your work. I succeeded in getting or in helping to get some of it performed several years ago but do not consider that that constitutes an obligation on your part. Am not interested in la rue de l'Odeon, or in neo-classics, neothomists, or even neo-Ulyssism.

The yawns of the N.Y. press are certainly of no importance. Nothing is to be expected of that country, and least of all any sort of comprehension of anything.

Get your stuff printed, and the three dozen people capable of understanding it will eventually discover that it exists.

Yrs,
EP

In February 1926 Antheil wrote further to Mrs. Bok on the symphony:

But now I have written a very great work, a more universal work [than the *Symphony for Five Instruments*], one which I believe ALL people, not merely the modernists, or the old fogies will find MUSIC.

This is a symphony which I have dedicated to you. Although this work is undoubtedly “ultra-modern” it is so only in the sense that Beethoven's work was so—I feel that this is a noble and great edifice, the greatest of which I am capable, and my first great work.

There is nothing freakish about it, like modern “ultra-modern” music. It is sombre, pitiless, and tender. Today, in my 25th year, I am beginning to see beauty in the ordinary things about me; I wish to become a great composer in the line of Beethoven and Mozart.

The letter continued with an appeal for funds to perform the work:

If I could only have ONE performance, everything would flow by itself after that. But it would have to be either the new symphony or the *Ballet Mécanique*, here in Paris. There is no use trying to make a big and universal impression with violin sonatas and piano sonatas.

There is no evidence that Mrs. Bok ever heard the *Symphony for Five Instruments* which Antheil sent her, and there is some evidence that she was distressed by the *Ballet Mécanique* piano rolls, which she did hear. Nonetheless, she sent him \$2,500 for the extracting of parts and the presentation of a concert. In early June 1926, Antheil was able to announce that:

my symphony en fa is to be played by Vladmir Golschmann (you know the famous “Concerts Golschmann” in Paris at

which the greater percentage of modern music has been introduced in Paris during the last seven years) and he asked me specially to devote my time to nothing except the symphony en fa, and a new and special arrangement of the Ballet Mecanique (now called "Ballet pour Instruments Mecanique et Percussion") both of which he hopes to give upon the 19th of June at the Champs Elysees Theatre. . . . I no sooner finished my symphony than I began a reduction of the original score of the B.M. which has taken me a month and a half to complete. But this is a much more practical version, written for one pianola with amplifier, and only three Xylophones, and the rest of the percussion reduced accordingly. . . .

At the end of June he wrote happily:

Briefly, I have just given the most successful concert of my life. Everyone was there, including Koussevitsky in a box, and there was standing room only in the enormous Champs Elysees Theatre which seats 2500 people. . . .

More important than anything, the concert with a big orchestra of 85 men almost paid for itself. I enclose you M. Dandelot's estimate and balance, which only shows you the tickets sold at the agencies, and not privately which double this sum. But even at that M. Dandelot, my concert agent, OWES me 1700 francs!

This letter, one of the cheeriest of the correspondence, with hopes for many private performances during the summer, nonetheless ends with an appeal for one more substantial amount of money:

now, this coming season, I can conquer all Europe,—at least make an indelible impression—and with 3000 dollars I can give two large orchestral concerts in Paris, and make a tour of all Europe, which is the thing nearest my heart. With 3000 dollars I can establish myself forever in the heart of the present music metropolis . . . Paris, and wake the rest of Europe up. . . .

This is the psychological moment. All young Paris is beginning to regard me as the young music Messiah: my concerts are crowded, and Strawinskys premiers are not—the MOMENT HAS COME TO STRIKE AND STRIKE HARD. Will you still be with me.

In August Mrs. Bok sent her check—apparently for \$5,000 rather than the \$3,000 Antheil had asked for. Antheil answered with thanks and a final rededication of the *Symphonie en Fa*:

Dear Mary Louise, this symphony is for you, and for you alone. Please accept it as some small measure of the boundless thanks that I have in my heart for you. Yours is earnest and true generosity: because you live I know that the world is still good. I hope that you will like the symphony—it has many faults, but I don't think that weakness or fear is among them: and among its good point is the desire to throw as vast a line as Beethoven—at least the desire—and the love.

At the end of 1926 Antheil was not only established in Europe, but also a subject of interest in America. Interest in his new symphony had been

expressed by Leopold Stokowski, Serge Koussevitzky, and Walter Damrosch (who, according to Antheil, "actually yelled . . . with sheer delight" at the work).²⁵ Damrosch had also expressed interest in the piano concerto which had been written immediately after the symphony. The time was certainly ripe for a visit to America. In a letter written from Florence in February 1927 Antheil told Mrs. Bok of his plans to revisit his homeland:

I embark to America upon February 24th, to begin the usual month's rehearsal upon the Ballet Mecanique which is to be given at Carnegie Hall April 10th. . . .

Donald Friede [the producer of the concert] is vice-president of Boni and Liveright publishing company who are just now going to bring out a new and larger "ANTHEIL" book . . . but this is his private enterprise as he wishes to "spring" me first upon the American public and get whatever credit good or bad that may come therefrom. . . .

Friede is in league with Baldwins, who are financing my projected American tour. The idea is this:—this is a propaganda concert to interest people and conductors in my more later work. . . . Then Baldwins are to take me over for this autumn with a 10,000 dollar guarantee, 200 dollars a week expenses, and *net gate receipts if the concert now seems to indicate that the American public want to hear me*. And Donald Friede joyously writes me—from every indication they seem to.

The concert that resulted, given on April 10, 1927, in Carnegie Hall, is a set piece in any account of Antheil's life, rather like the burning of Atlanta in *Gone with the Wind*—nobody can say it is cheerful, but it is impressive. The standard description of the concert is that on pages 190 to 197 of *Bad Boy of Music*. The Bok-Antheil correspondence does little to change that description, but it does put some of the happenings in a new perspective.

The concert consisted of four of Antheil's works: the second violin sonata (the one with the drums), the string quartet, the *Jazz Symphony* written for Whiteman, and the *Ballet Mecanique*. The artists engaged were of high caliber: Eugene Goossens conducted the *Ballet Mecanique*, with a set of pianists including Aaron Copland and Colin McPhee; the Musical Art Quartet played the string quartet; their first violinist Sascha Jacobsen played

Flier for the Carnegie Hall concert of April 10, 1927. This copy, sent by Josef Hofmann to Mrs. Bok, bears Hofmann's ironic comment, "Mary's little Lamb?" Music Division.

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EUGENE GOOSSENS, Conducting

Ten distinguished pianists, George Antheil at the mechanical piano, eight xylophones, four bass drums; two wind machines, electric bells, etc., etc.

JAZZ SYMPHONY

W. C. HANDY
(Originator of the Blues)
and his 30-piece orchestra

GEORGE ANTHEEL
at
the piano

STRING QUARTET THE MUSICAL ART QUARTET

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GEORGE ANTHEEL and SASCHA JACOBSEN

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Baldwin Pianos
used throughout
the concert.

Welte-Mignon
Piano for mech-
anical part of
Ballet Mecanique.

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the violin sonata; the W. C. Handy orchestra played the *Jazz Symphony*. Antheil—his right arm swollen from an injection—played piano in the *Jazz Symphony*, piano and drum in the violin sonata, and mechanical piano in the *Ballet Mécanique*. Few reviewers commented on the quality of the performances. Antheil was happy with the string quartet and the *Jazz Symphony*, was in too much pain from his injection to judge the performance of the violin sonata (he had been able to judge the *Jazz Symphony* from rehearsals), and felt that the effect of the *Ballet Mécanique* was somewhat dissipated by the number of pianos used.

The disastrous aspects of the concert were two: first, due to unforeseen extra costs, the concert produced a large deficit rather than the modest profit Antheil had hoped for; second, the publicity had been so thoroughly geared to the sensational aspect of Antheil's music that the public came looking for a good American riot to match the Paris riots of the decade past, while the critics came with a certain reluctance to take things seriously. As a result the concert was judged not as a concert but as a news event. When the concert went smoothly—there were a few spurts of protest, but nothing like the genuine riots of Antheil's earlier career—the public considered it a washout. The critics, not pleased with what they heard and much displeased with the publicity, were uniformly negative.

Mrs. Bok, who had been unhappy with the publicity leading up to the concert, did not attend. In her stead went Josef Hofmann, director of the Curtis Institute. In lieu of a formal report on the concert Hofmann sent Mrs. Bok a set of reviews with the following letter:

April 11th, 1927

My dear Mrs. President,

I was present at George Antheil's show, but the enclosed reports will tell the "tale of Hofmann."

I wonder whether you ever came across a novel by Jules Verne, called "The 500 Millions of the Begum." In this book, the author very cleverly demonstrates how the same means may be used for diametrically opposed aims and results. The huge fortune being divided between two men, in one instance serves for promoting happiness, beauty, welfare, and contentment among mankind; in the other, for every possible kind of destructive schemes. . . . like most, if not all, of Jules Verne's books, it bears a great truth, for it proves that money is not necessarily beneficial, as so generally believed. . . .

In mentioning this, I have in view a parallel between the Curtis Institute and Mr. George Antheil, for I believe that, having at one's command a power which potentially

holds both good and evil, one can never be careful enough when letting it into play. . . .

Believe me, my dear Mrs. President,
Most regretfully yours
Josef Hofmann

Antheil himself complained to Mrs. Bok of the results of the concert:

the unheard-of viciousness of the critical press, which even went as far as prevarication in minimizing even the scandal of the performance, which was a great one—has earned me—no doubt justly from their viewpoint—the suspicion of the concert agencies, and scotched for the moment my return to America this autumn under any except circus auspices. In fact some weeks before the concert Judson called me into his office and offered to put the Ballet Mécanique on tour as a sensational affair. It was a great relief to me after the concert when even that collapsed, as I feel today that I have no real right to refuse any chance to support myself. As it is, I simply can't. I don't write the right kind of music.

Spiritually the advent of the Ballet Mécanique in New York was a great blow, and it is still too early to judge the effect of it. One thing is certain, however. The newspaper critics are to be utterly discredited. . . .

But the damage was done. On April 27, 1927, Mrs. Bok wrote, promising Antheil to continue her monthly stipend but saying:

Any financial assistance other than this monthly check I do not now feel willing to furnish. . . .

You have come to America, bringing your product, with the results that both you and I know. While I was not at the Carnegie Hall concert, several of my most trusted musical friends and guides were. Frankly, their opinion of the music offered is unanimously adverse. However, as I have said, not having heard it myself, I make no pronouncement. But, I am frank to tell you that I dislike extremely the key in which the concert was presented. It was blatant, sensational and screaming, and I can see no reason why it should have been done in such a manner. I abhor such methods.

In May Antheil went back to Paris.

On June 30, after the dust had settled, Donald Friede wrote Mrs. Bok a long letter detailing the history of the concert, which sheds new light on several of its aspects. In particular it contradicts Antheil's impression—which he had at least up until the publication of *Bad Boy of Music*—that the promoters of the concert had made money from his disaster. Friede says:

I had planned to make Antheil known in this country—instead of that, the critics, annoyed by my so-called publicity, practically annihilated him. I had planned to make some money for him so that he could continue in Paris and possibly arrange for an American tour. Instead of that, I lost over \$10,000.00 on the concert, not including

Antheil's passage back and the various sums of money that I gave him while he was here. On top of that, I seem to have affected his entire future by making you, who had made his work possible, lose faith in him and became disgusted with the methods used in presenting this concert.

The unexpected expenses had included two decorative curtains which cost \$1,500—the aspect of the concert which had attracted the most universal negative comment—and problems with the orchestra for the *Jazz Symphony*:

I was also badly advised as to the choice of a man to organize and conduct the negro orchestra for the *Jazz Symphony*. After three rehearsals—at rehearsal prices, naturally—I found that this man could not conduct, and it became necessary for me to call in somebody else. The man I called in realized that he was the only person who could bring the orchestra together and conduct it properly and asked for a fee based on this knowledge. He also insisted on a great many more rehearsals than we had originally planned, so that this one number cost in the neighborhood of \$5000.00 when finally produced.²⁶

Friede also explained the origin of the sensational publicity:

Our very first publicity note—which was sent out while I was in the West Indies, where I went on January 6th—was a mistake, and from that mistake grew the unpleasant publicity that hurt Antheil so much. This first publicity sheet, after telling about the coming concert and giving a few biographical facts about Antheil, had to be based on the very little material that we could authenticate at that time. The greater of this material concerned itself with the riots that had taken place at the first and second presentations of the *Ballet Mecanique*, and we thought that by emphasizing this at first and then bringing the facts that Antheil was sending us and which were then on the water, before the public, that not only would we be able to interest the public in Antheil's work, but that we would be able to overcome the feeling that Antheil's music depended entirely upon mechanical effects.

We found, however, afterwards that it was impossible to do this. The newspapers jumped on the fact that there had been riots at previous concerts and emphasized this fact to the exclusion of everything else.

Friede ended his letter with the suggestion that he and Mrs. Bok might join in subsidizing Antheil. Friede would pay back any money paid out, in addition to Mrs. Bok's \$75.00 a month, starting in three years when he would be free of debt.²⁷ But Mrs. Bok was not interested.

Back in Europe Antheil turned his attention to other matters. While still in America he had written Mrs. Bok that he was working on a "tragedy": "A man alone with his own soul: his stark coming to himself, is the nature of my next work. This season I have written . . . considerable sketches for my new

tragedy" (April 1927). Whether the "tragedy" was to be with music (in which case it is probably *Glare*) or whether Antheil was venturing into spoken drama, his attention was turning to the stage. Works for the stage—opera and ballet—were to occupy much of Antheil's attention for the next few years of his life, and although he was no longer so liberal in his descriptions of works to Mrs. Bok after 1927 as he had been before, he did include detailed plot summaries of two works. One is the opera *Flight*,²⁸ which he worked on in 1927 and 1930—a brief opera-ballet which involved the use of projected images rather than formal scenery. The other plot summary is of an opera whose title, *Glare*, does not show up in the list of Antheil's compositions: yet it was the first stage of the work which was to be Antheil's greatest operatic triumph.

On February 22, 1928, Antheil wrote Mrs. Bok:

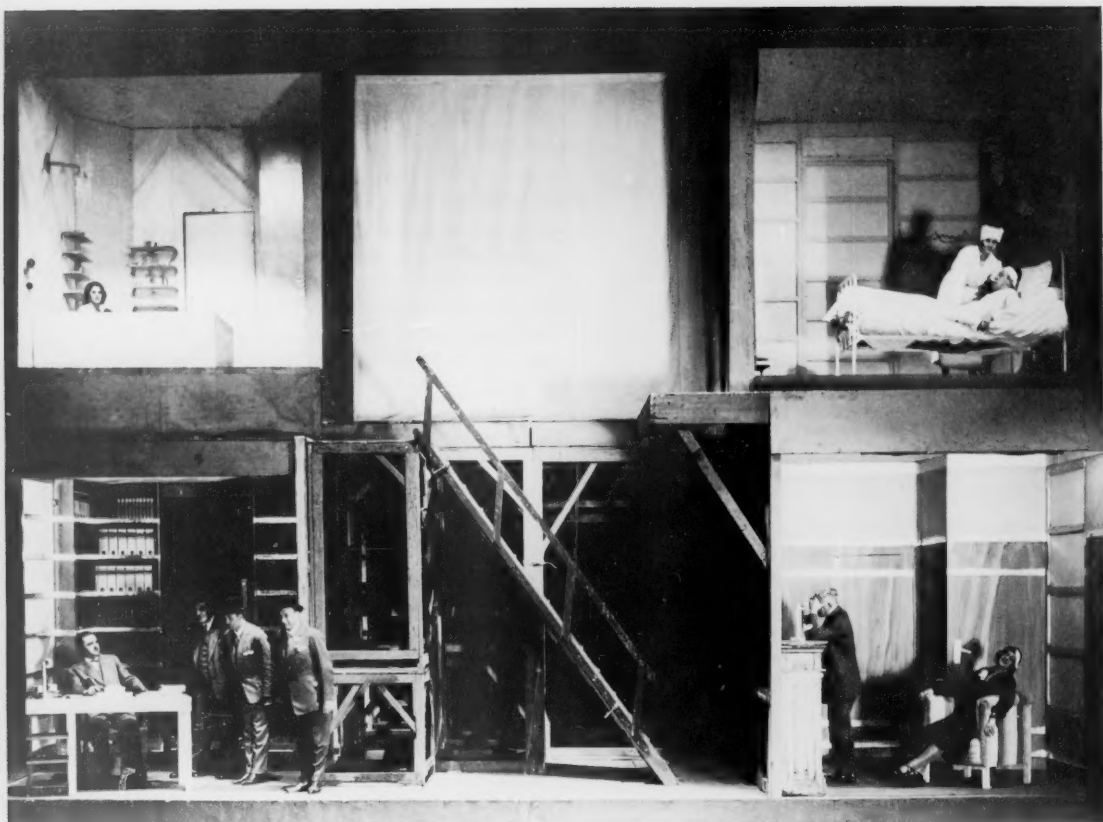
I have just finished the first American grand opera that takes place in the present day—a huge score, taking two and a half hours to play. It is, as all opera must be, essentially melodic; but, more than this, I think that it is the great American opera that America has talked and awaited so eagerly for now so many years. It is somewhat less classical than my recent work of the last three years, and is a tragic romance that takes place in the America of today. Such far removed people as Ernest Krenek, author of "Johnny Spielt Auf" and Vincent Youmans, composer of "Hit the Deck" have volunteered to say to the press recently that they believe that it will be a great success.

In September of the same year—while in Vienna, where he had gone to work on the opera with its publisher, Universal Edition—he wrote a letter containing a plot summary, which begins:

"*Glare*" takes place in New York City of today. The background is the unnamed party's selection of their candidate for the forthcoming presidential elections. The characters are Helena, a very beautiful woman who is the mistress of old Ajax, a very rich man, and a political boss. He is the financier of the political career of Hector, a nation's "favorite son" beloved of his people. . . . Like Boris Goudenov of Moussorgsky, *Glare* develops its tragedy in a semi-political atmosphere, only its victim in this case is a woman, and not a man.

The letter goes on to give a detailed three-page summary of the first version of the opera which was to be produced two years later in Frankfurt as *Transatlantic*.

Those who have seen the score of *Transatlantic*, the first full-scale opera by an American to be produced by a European opera house (there still are not many American operas which have been), will



Ludwig Sievert's set for *Transatlantic*, act III, scenes 1-27(!). A publicity shot showing the entire stage; in performance, only one part of the set was lighted at a time. Top center is the movie screen used to show the "tragic ending"; top left is the bathtub which caused Mrs. Bok's disapproval. Villainous financier and henchmen are at bottom left; hero and heroine, bottom right. Music Division. LC-USZ62-60627

be surprised by the plot summary of *Glare*. The characters who in *Transatlantic* are demicaricatures going through a bitter parody of an American presidential election are treated as serious characters in *Glare*, and the plot does, indeed, end unhappily. (Antheil saved the unhappy ending in *Transatlantic* as a film within the opera which is performed just before its happy-ending finale.) The plot summary of *Glare* reads rather badly today, partly because Antheil was overwriting the description to make up for the lack of music. Here is the climax:

Act Three, Scene one, opens in Hector's apartment, overlooking New York City. But the curtains of the gigantic windows are closed when the curtain goes up. Hector comes back discouraged, tired, sick-at-heart.²⁹ He meditates upon Helena, is jealous of her past and everything and everybody about her. At last he can stand his thoughts no longer. He rushes to the gigantic windows and

tears them open with the intention of throwing himself out into the street far below. But he is stopped by the vast night panorama of New York, the electric signs, the lights, the truly magnificent city! "New York—is here!" he cries—"heartless city of steel—I was too weak to conquer you—only hearts of steel can do that, while my heart was made of flesh only! False Glare! Glare! Heartless Glare! Ah! let me only have the truth of night, everlasting night!"

(Is it unkind to add that this is followed by: "He breaks down. Gladys comes in"?)

Mrs. Bok replied to this summary (carbon of October 11, 1928):

Frankly, I don't at all like your Glare as you have outlined it, and am sorry that American opera must be built on lines of such sordid subject matter. But, of course, one cannot say much for the subject matter of most operas and after all the music is the thing.

I must say, however, that I think there is a lot of confusion and too much happening in your story. I would have it simpler, with much of its action cut out, and a keener line leading to the dramatic high points. I don't mean that somebody should be thrown out of a window at the high points!

The same letter contained good news: Mrs. Bok was raising Antheil's monthly stipend to \$100 and was sending \$1,000 for various projects he had outlined in his letter.

Universal Edition, as well as Mrs. Bok, had doubts about the viability of the libretto of *Glare*, and soon (January 18, 1929) Antheil was writing:

Incidentally, the opera has been completely rewritten since I last wrote you about it (I sent you the plot) as we decided that the main principle was not brought out enough, so I undertook to reorganize the whole with a very brilliant young American poet Walter Lowenfels, of New York. . . .

Walter Lowenfels, who is most famous for his play *U.S.A. with Music*, is not mentioned on the title page of the opera. This is perhaps only just, since Antheil, who wrote the music for *U.S.A. with Music*, is not mentioned in the published edition of the play.³⁰ Both *U.S.A. with Music* and *Transatlantic* deal in satiric terms with presidential elections; both had their chances for American success strongly diminished on December 26, 1931, when *Of Thee I Sing* opened in New York. Antheil, unlike Lowenfels, was wise enough not to sue for plagiarism.

Transatlantic (the title was for German consumption; Antheil wanted it called *The People's Choice*) emerged from its many rewrites a savage comedy bristling with elaborate stage techniques, many of which were associated with films.³¹ The first part

of the third act, in particular, was a tour de force of operatic stagecraft. While the hero (on election night!) attempts to strangle the heroine, brief scenes flash by on different parts of the stage indicating events occurring at the same time (the equivalent of movie "crosscutting"); meanwhile a "revue dancer" describes what is going on in the hero's mind and gives an occasional election return. Almost as spectacular is the big scene in the political headquarters of the "Demopublican Party," where votes are tallied up while gangsters prowl and politics are discussed to the tune of "Tammany" (which thunders forth in block chords as the act II prelude.)

Transatlantic was undoubtedly a more shrewd opera to present to the sensation-hungry German opera public than *Glare*, and its premiere in Frankfurt on May 25, 1930, was a brilliant success. Its more "sensational" parts, however, have dated rather severely, and the overlapping sets of revisions show in its confusion of tone. (This is even more true for English-speaking readers, since some of the revisions seem to have been written in German and indifferently translated. For instance, what is one to make of "Tie! That Means that Hec's the next up!"?) Antheil later reworked *Transatlantic*, "cutting out the somewhat more sensational elements, and keeping the tragedy intact" (letter of April 12, 1932, to Mrs. Bok). This version survives in the form of a heavily annotated score in the possession of Mrs. Antheil.

The huge success of *Transatlantic*, which seemed to promise Antheil entry into the circle of opera composers who could actually earn their living by composition, caused him to write Mrs. Bok shortly after the premiere in a burst of financial optimism:

I believe that the composer will have more chance in the future to earn money, than the performing artist—daily sound film, radio, reproducing machines of all kinds are becoming more perfect, so that in some slight percentage, the performing and reproducing artist will and must gradually become less important than the composer, and creator in the beginning. I feel sure that I will be able to make money before long, even though I made errors of judgement (not music) in "*Transatlantic*" which comes from my still immature stage technic. But I have learned tremendously—and my second opera will surely and certainly be better and go further than "*Transatlantic*." [June–July 1930.]

This passage contains the first substantial mention in the correspondence of a medium to which Antheil was later to contribute much both as a composer and as critic—the sound motion picture.

In the same letter Antheil acknowledges that *Transatlantic* will not make his fortune directly:

The public success of "Transatlantic" was very great indeed, and beyond all expectations. But the work is too difficult—not musically but from the viewpoint of stage technic. It is too expensive to put on. It will go to several other large stages, but it will never make me a fortune.

I must instantly write something much more simple for the stage.

Later in the same letter he says ruefully, "it was a terrible shock to me to see that I had overcalculated the possibilities of the stage, and produced a literal 'white elephant' for stage-directors. . . ."

Mrs. Bok, who knew *Transatlantic* only through the press reports, worried about other things than the "white elephant" aspect of the work:

Of course, I have been interested to catch all the echoes of "Transatlantic," and am glad for what success it had and regretful for its "white elephant" qualities. I have again a sense of disappointment in the emphasis you put on some of the worst elements of American life. I regret that you should present to Europe, as a faithful picture of U.S.A., the characteristics and doings of your "Transatlantic" people—dubious politics, a President of The United States telephoning a lady in a bathtub,³² and so forth—all so cheap and, I contend, far from representative of real American life. [Carbon of 1 August 1930.]

Antheil answered the charge made in this letter—or rather its repetition in a second letter in which Mrs. Bok confessed that she did not like *Ulysses* either—with the most quotable line in the whole correspondence: "Had they [sensation-seeking music reporters] existed in another day, they would have written 'Boris Godenov Murdered'—'Love Nest Discovered!!'" (March 26, 1931, dated in pencil).

The letter which contains this quotation was the last letter Antheil was to write to Mrs. Bok from Europe for over a year.³³ Antheil had visited America briefly during the winter of 1929–30 to confer with the librettist of his next opera, John Erskine. Now he was going back to the States to put the finishing touches on the opera and see about its production. Erskine was both an eminent novelist and the head of the Juilliard School of Music; his libretto, entitled *Helen Retires*, had been admired by those who had read it; the German opera stage, one of the few ways in which a composer could earn his way, was open to Antheil, and all seemed to be going well for the thirty-year-old composer. At this point he looked back to the early years of his collaboration with Mrs. Bok:

We have, all these years, not had the ordinary relations between creative artist and the more financially secure friend who helps him attain his ideals. We began our collaboration before the Guggenheim Fund or the Juilliard Fund, or the Eastman School, or even the American Prix de Rome was started. Yes, we started long before even the Curtis Institute was built. We planned our direction and attacked the situation fearlessly, you with funds, and I with young courage, long before anyone else. We have been pioneers.

The "collaboration" was to continue on and off through 1939, but increasingly it was to take on the hue of the old friend helping the younger friend in distress. Mrs. Bok never did reconcile herself to the style of music produced by the young man she had met in November 1921, but she continued to answer calls of distress. After 1932, however, she disassociated herself as much as possible from supporting his musical plans and offered financial help only upon occasions of direst need. (One must remember that the stock market crash had seriously decreased her income; also, through much of the 1930s, both her husband's and her father's wills were held up in probate, freezing much of her funds; she must often have felt only a little more prosperous than Antheil himself.)

No doubt Antheil and Mrs. Bok were mismatched as composer and patron. She was, however, steady and loyal. In a letter which waited for Antheil upon his return home to Trenton in April 1931 she wrote:

Please try not to put so much emphasis on my opinion, one way or the other, of the musical worth of your compositions. It is probably not fair to the works themselves. As you know, I am not in sympathy with much of the so-called modern trend. Always I wish you well, and I am hoping that the Erskine-Antheil opera may score a real success. As you know, I am sending you a regular monthly stipend, which should evidence to you that I am always hoping for your success.

And Antheil always thought of her as not only his patron but his friend. On March 30, 1939, he wrote Mrs. Bok a letter looking back on the history of her patronage. Early in the letter Antheil recalled Mrs. Bok's warning about the "corrosive effect of money upon friendship." At the end he wrote:

I am so happy—so very very truly happy—that you and I have come out of all of this, friends. Mary Louise, I cannot begin to tell you what you have meant to me throughout the years (even if you haven't heard much of my music—but let us forget that angle as only time will prove anything whatsoever about the creative music of this generation) and how much your name, your letters, your help, your kindness, your understanding, have meant to me during my lifetime. Truly I would be a bad human being if I were not to recognize that every moment of my life.

Again I say "God Bless You" Mary Louise, one of the kindest, wisest, and best of human beings!

"Faithfully"

(for that has been our signature throughout the years!)

George

The patronage may not have survived the fundamental aesthetic differences between patron and composer (or the strains of the depression), but the friendship did. And so, of course, has the music.

Notes

1. Antheil, born on July 8, 1900, was twenty-one.
2. Antheil's spelling and syntax are somewhat informal. We have reproduced the letters as they stand, but where the meaning becomes utterly obscure possible readings have been suggested in brackets. We have also replaced Antheil's ellipsis dots (part of his regular punctuation) with em dashes to avoid confusion.
3. In 1943 Mrs. Bok, then a widow, married Efram Zimbalist, and it is as Mrs. Zimbalist that her name appears in the obituaries, and indeed in most reference sources. For simplicity's sake she is referred to as Mrs. Bok throughout this paper.
4. Many undated letters in the collection have been "Jated in pencil" by a helpful but not always accurate hand. The most conspicuous example of misdating in this hand is the letter describing the Paris concert of October 4, 1923, on which the hand had indicated "October 1926." Even if we did not have independent sources for dating the concert as 1923, the incorrectness of the penciled date could be established from the letter itself: October 4 was a Thursday in 1923 but not in 1926. Most of the penciled datings have, however, proved to be reliable, and Antheil was a sufficiently circumstantial letter writer to make date checking easy.
5. At various times the amount mentioned is \$6,000, \$6,400, and (a single time) \$6,500. The correct figure is probably \$6,400.
6. Cocteau is mentioned as the literary mentor of *Les Six*, a group of young Parisian composers including Honegger, Milhaud, and Poulenc.
7. Antheil was to remember this phrase vividly. He recalls it in letters to Mrs. Bok of March 8, 1932, and March 30, 1934. It is also echoed in his *Bad Boy of Music* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1945), p. 34: "I had always supposed that great composers (Stravinsky in particular) never discussed the corrosive matter of money."
8. Since we are lacking Mrs. Bok's side of the correspondence, we cannot determine in what month this stipend started. A letter dated March 1924 makes no mention of it.
9. The specific sum is first mentioned in a letter of late June 1926.
10. The final date of the continuing stipend is hard to fix from the correspondence. I am taking Mrs. Bok's carbon of April 13, 1931, as indicating that it was still going

on, and her carbon of January 14, 1932, as the start of a new financial arrangement which she hoped would be temporary.

11. In *Bad Boy of Music* Antheil identifies the film as *L'Inhumaine*.

12. Since Antheil speaks of this symphony as being scheduled for performance by the Berlin Philharmonic it is unlikely that it was the *Symphony for Five Instruments*, which Antheil occasionally referred to as his "Second Symphony." It may well be that here Antheil is announcing a piece he has an idea for rather than one he has already written; a piece which, when written, became the *Symphony for Five Instruments*. Certainly that piece is iconoclastic enough to fit the description.

13. Again, dated in pencil.

14. Technically, of course, it would be easy to hook twelve player pianos to a master driver which would make them run in unison. But the expense would be great (you cannot rent or borrow a player piano if you are going to drill holes in it) and if the rolls were not cut with utter precision the ensemble would still be off. Besides, what happens when you must change rolls?

15. Translated for Mrs. Bok in a letter dated in pencil fall 1922.

16. Trenton was the town of Antheil's birth and youth.

17. A guarantee is a sum of money paid to the owner of a concert hall before a concert assuring him that he will be paid no matter how slim the gate. Money made through ticket sales is set off against this; unless no tickets at all are sold some of the guarantee is returned to the artist. Thus Antheil was not asking for the whole \$5,800 permanently.

18. Text from Antheil's letter of February 1926, which quotes Mrs. Bok's letter (not in the collection) back to her.

19. In actuality he sent the score a month later.

20. The current version of the score is in three movements of approximately equal length. Mrs. Bok's copy of the score, representing the original version, is now at the Curtis Institute.

21. The same letter is cited in note 12 above.

22. Antheil did not, in fact, go to New York in 1925, nor did Whiteman play the *Jazz Symphony*. The main work on the Whiteman concert, which took place on December 29, 1925, was George Gershwin's short opera *135th Street*.

23. This is not true of the *Symphonie en Fa* as it now stands.

24. Antheil sent Pound's letter to Mrs. Bok in December 1927. The letter was probably written at Antheil's request to certify to Mrs. Bok that Antheil was no longer under Pound's influence, which she considered unsound. Whatever Pound's final opinion of Antheil may have been, he found a place for him in the first of his *Pisan Cantos*.

25. Letter of March 1926, dated in pencil.

26. The man who "could not conduct" was presumably W. C. Handy. It should be borne in mind that Antheil's piece was in a style considerably different from that which Handy was used to. The conductor who stepped in was Allie Ross.

27. April 1927 had not been kind to Friede. Within a week of the Antheil concert he was arrested in Boston for selling a copy of Theodore Dreiser's *An American Tragedy* in order to test Boston's censorship law. Hopes were high for the dismissal of charges but the judge did, indeed, find *An American Tragedy* obscene and fined Friede \$100.

28. *Flight* shows up in *Bad Boy of Music* as *Ivan the Terrible*.

29. He has just lost the election.

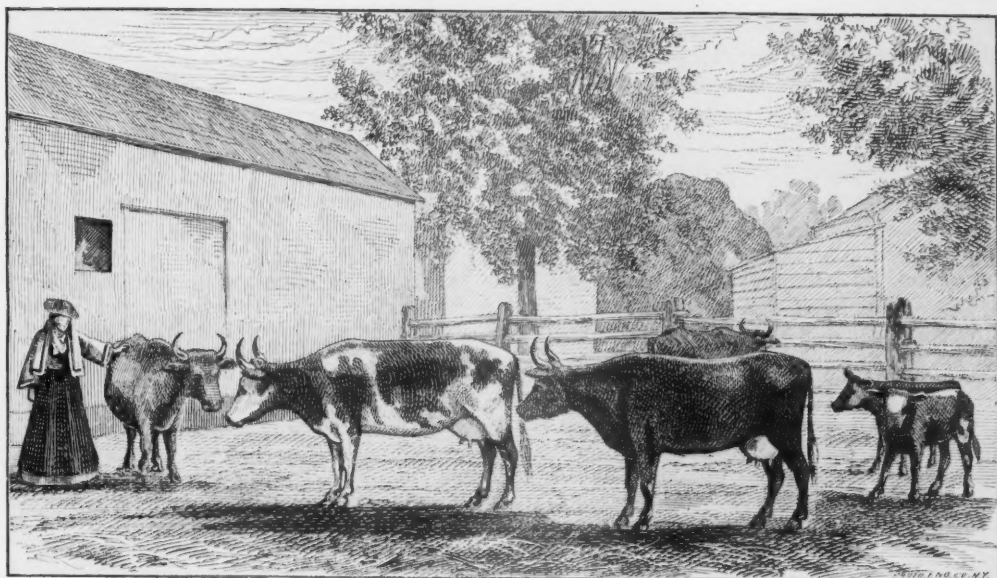
30. *New York Times*, May 2, 1932, p. 13.

31. Antheil told Mrs. Bok it had been rewritten five times (letter of March 26, 1931, dated in pencil).

32. Bathtubs on the operatic stage may have seemed shocking in Philadelphia, but they were close to being a standard prop in operatic Germany. Paul Hindemith's *Neues vom Tage*, first performed almost a year before *Transatlantic*, contained an elaborate scene set in a hotel bathing room (one of those you have to reserve) in which more and more people crowd in upon the bathing heroine. Admittedly, nobody in the Hindemith does anything quite so hazardous as telephoning in the bathtub, a practice which would have been frowned upon by the Council for Home Safety.

33. In April 1932, Antheil returned to Europe on a Guggenheim grant, which at that time required the recipient to live in Europe. In August 1933, finding it impossible to live on the Guggenheim stipend which had shrunk because of the depression, he returned to the United States permanently.

THE FIRST FEMINIST THE "ALDERNEY" EDITION, 1876



by Madeleine B. Stern

During the early 1840s the excitement stirred up on the eastern seaboard by William Miller's prophecy of the Second Coming took varied forms. In anticipation of the advent or the world's end, some purportedly donned ascension robes or spoke in strange tongues while others attended camp meetings, watched for heavenly signs, or assembled in graveyards. One strong-minded individual, a slight

Frontispiece from Abby Smith and Her Cows by Julia E. Smith. A note identifies the Alderney cows, which became associated with the author's translation of the Bible: "The four . . . represented in the frontispiece—named Daisy, Whitey, Minnie, and Proxy, with one other, have been driven to be sold at the Auction Block, this Centennial year; a fine commentary on the doings of our Forefathers a hundred years ago. One of the calves represented, belongs to Proxy, . . . and was named Martha Washington . . . The other calf is Whitey's, and is called Abigail Adams."

and wiry woman in her early fifties who hailed from Glastonbury, Connecticut, turned not to the stars but to her Bible to check the veracity of the Millerite forecast. In so doing she launched for herself a program of intense intellectual activity which would eventually culminate in the first English translation of the whole Bible by a woman.

The woman who accomplished this monumental labor was the eccentric but delightful Julia Evelina Smith. Though she uncovered no satisfactory proof of the Millerite prophecy in the course of her biblical studies, she did succeed in shaping a milestone in feminist history that demands attention.¹

The five Smith sisters of Glastonbury grew up less in the odor of sanctity than in the aura of erudition. Their very names testified to the lofty nature of their background: Hancy Zephina, Cyrintia Lucretia, Laurilla Aleroya, Juliette Abelinda, and Abby Hadassah. The penultimate sister, Juliette Abelinda—the name was changed to Julia Evelina after a reading of Frances Burney—was born on May 27, 1792, and it was as Julia Evelina Smith that she made her claim to fame. Except for Julia, who at the eleventh hour entered into an octogenarian union, none of the sisters ever married. Apparently the “maids of Glastonbury” were content with parental relationships. Their father, Zephaniah Hollister Smith, entered the Congregational ministry after his graduation from Yale but, deeming it wrong to accept money for preaching, he abandoned the ministry and turned to the law. A follower of the Sandemanian sect who held that “faith is mere intellectual assent,” Zephaniah influenced his daughter to seek salvation not in the church but in the Bible. The mother of the family, Hannah Hadassah Hickock Smith, was in her way equally remarkable. Linguist and poet, astronomer and mathematician, she drew

up both her own almanac and an antislavery petition to Congress. Indeed, an imaginative journalist would one day assert that she was “such an intense student” that she studied in a specially constructed “glass cage.”²

With such a background Julia Evelina Smith took naturally to study in general and to languages in particular. At eighteen she commenced a diary in French which she continued for thirty-two years.³ Latin and Greek she acquired both at home and, as she would recall, at “our academy.”⁴ For a time Julia Evelina Smith taught French at Emma Willard’s school in Troy, New York, but for the most part her life was centered in the Glastonbury farm where, with her sisters, she kept house in their “roomy old mansion built in 1739” and made butter and cheese from the milk of their Alderney cows.⁵ It was said of the Glastonbury maids that their “speech and manner reflected rural New England.”⁶ So did their point of view, for they were indignant at wrong and forthright in their pursuit of truth.

It was in the pursuit of truth, during the early 1840s, that Julia Evelina Smith studied her Bible intensively to seek corroboration of the Millerite predictions. By 1847, when she was fifty-five, she launched into the labors of translation that would preoccupy her during the next seven or eight years and result eventually in a feminist first.⁷ By the time she had finished, Julia Evelina Smith had translated the Bible five times: once from the Latin, twice from the Greek, and twice from the Hebrew. As for Hebrew, this tongue was self-taught. As the years passed the “old quarto Bible was so interlined with Miss Julia’s fresh translations as to be one of the curiosities of literature,”⁸ and the manuscript version of her translation occupied three boxes.⁹ Word for word, the work of literal translation continued. As Julia Smith put it: “I cannot express how greatly I enjoy the work of translating, and now the real meaning of different texts would thrill through my mind, till I could hardly contain myself.”¹⁰

The results of this word-for-word translation are best conveyed by quoting Julia Smith’s rendition of the Twenty-third Psalm.¹¹ It is possible that this translation is more accurate than that of the King James Version but the likelihood of its thrilling through the mind is somewhat remote:

Chanting of David. Jehovah my shepherd, and I shall not want.

Madeleine B. Stern is a writer and editor, interested particularly in nineteenth-century American literature, and a partner in Leona Rostenberg—Rare Books, New York, New York. Her books include *Imprints on History: Book Publishers and American Frontiers* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1956), *We the Women: Career Firsts of Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Schulte Publishing Co., 1963), and, with Leona Rostenberg, *Old and Rare: Thirty Years in the Book Business* (New York: A. Schram, 1974). She has most recently edited *Plots and Counterplots: More Unknown Thrillers of Louisa May Alcott* (New York: William Morrow and Co., 1976).

He will cause me to lie down in pastures of tender grass; he will lead me to the water of rest.

He will turn back my soul; he will guide me into the tracks of justice for sake of his name.

Also if I shall go into the valley of the shadow of death, I shall not be afraid of evil, for thou art with me; thy rod and thy staff they will comfort me.

Thou wilt set in order a table before me in front of mine enemies: thou madest fat mine head with oil; my cup being satisfied with drink.

Surely goodness and mercy shall pursue me all the days of my life: and I dwelt in the house of Jehovah to the length of days.

It was not until 1876, by which time Julia had lost three of her four sisters and engaged in struggles more secular than scriptural, that her version of the Bible was published. The preface she wrote at that time describes in detail the labors involved, the stages passed, and the techniques employed in her translation. Since the Smith translation was indeed unique this autobiographical exposition merits quoting:

It may seem presumptuous for an ordinary woman with no particular advantages of education to translate and publish alone, the most wonderful book that has ever appeared in the world, and thought to be the most difficult to translate. It has occupied the time and attention of the wisest and most learned of all ages, believing, as the world has believed, that such only could give the correct rendering of the language in which the Bible was written.

Over twenty years ago, when I had four sisters, a friend met with us weekly, to search the Scriptures, we being desirous to learn the exact meaning of every Greek and Hebrew word, from which King James's forty-seven translators had taken their version of the Bible. We saw by the margin that the text had not been given literally, and it was the literal meaning we were seeking. I had studied Latin and Greek at school, and began by translating the Greek New Testament, and then the Septuagint. . . . We all had a strong desire to learn the signification of the proper names, and I wrote to a learned friend about it, and he advised me to study Hebrew, saying, "it was a simple language, and easily learned, there being but one book in the world, of pure Hebrew, which was the Bible." He added that, "then I could see with my own eyes, and not look through the glasses of my neighbors." I soon gave my attention to the Hebrew, and studied it thoroughly, and wrote it out word for word, giving no ideas of my own, but endeavoring to put the same English word for the same Hebrew or Greek word, everywhere, while King James's translators have wholly differed from this rule; but it appeared to us to give a much clearer understanding of the text.

It had never at that time entered my mind that I should ever publish the work, but I was so much interested and entertained to see the connection from Genesis to Revelation, that I continued my labors and wrote out the Bible

five times, twice from the Greek, twice from the Hebrew, and once from the Latin—the Vulgate. . . . It may be thought by the public in general, that I have great confidence in myself, in not conferring with the learned in so great a work, but as there is but one book in the Hebrew tongue, and I have defined it word for word, I do not see how anybody can know more about it than I do. It being a dead language no improvements can be made upon it. As for the Latin and Greek, I have no doubt many have searched deeper into the standard works than I have, but I think no one has given more time and attention to the literal meaning of the Bible texts in these languages.

. . . It took me about seven years to accomplish the five translations, at least, I was engaged in it that length of time, not giving my whole time to it. I should probably have been much longer, had it come into my head that I should ever consent to have it published. There may be some little inaccuracies, . . . but I think never has the sense of the Original Tongue been altered.¹²

When, after a shelf rest of some twenty years, Julia Smith's version of the "Original Tongue" was finally published, one or two wits referred to it as the Alderney Edition of the Holy Bible. For this there was good reason. During the late 1860s and the early 1870s, Abby Hadassah and Julia Evelina, the only surviving Glastonbury maids, boldly entered the feminist arena. In the sisters' struggle for women's rights, the Alderney cows of the Glastonbury farm played important roles.¹³

Assessed for what they considered a disproportionate share of taxes, the ballotless sisters of Glastonbury refused payment. Their determination to protest taxation without representation culminated in January 1874 with the attachment of seven of their fine Alderneys. The cows were paraded to the Glastonbury signpost where, to cover delinquent taxes amounting to \$101.39, they were auctioned off. Upon at least two different occasions the bovine march and auction took place until only two Alderneys, Taxey and Votey, were left. When the town fathers turned from the Smiths' movable property and auctioned off eleven acres of their meadowland valued at \$2000.00 for \$78.35, the sisters initiated a lawsuit against the tax collector.

Meanwhile, as one newspaper put it, "Though Miss Julia, the older of the two sisters, is the one who raised the cows, Miss Abby is the one who raised the breeze."¹⁴ The breeze was raised in several directions. At a town meeting, Miss Abby protested taxation without representation, and when the town meeting was closed to her she climbed an oxcart outside the building to deliver her speech. Sometimes the sisters made joint appearances at



suffrage meetings, standing side by side on the platform, Abby reading a prepared lecture, Julia speaking less formally. Their message caught on. The *Springfield Republican* declared that the sisters "as truly stand for the American principle as did the citizens who ripped open the tea chests in Boston harbour or the farmers who leveled their muskets at Concord."¹⁵ Isabella Beecher Hooker, the suffrage leader, suggested "kine couchant" for the suffrage emblem,¹⁶ and in the office of the *Woman's Journal* a framed bill ordering the sale of the pet cows was hung. As far afield as Chicago, souvenirs appeared, made from the hair of the Glastonbury cows. When Julia Smith's Bible was published, newspaper articles formed "a remarkable blending of cows and Biblical lore, dairy products and Greek and Hebrew."¹⁷

Like their country, the Glastonbury sisters were stirred to remembrance during the Centennial year. As they put it in a letter to the *Woman's Journal*: "Would our revolutionary ancestors have felt better to have yielded to taxation? which they declared to be tyranny, and endured a seven years war, and yielded up their lives for it. Did not women as well as men inherit this spirit? And this Centennial year they were going to rejoice over this principle! And did Great Britain use our forefathers anything like so badly as our town had used us?"¹⁸

This Centennial year, Julia Smith reasoned that she could give a spur to the feminist movement by offering to the world proof of one woman's accomplishments. The proof had lain on her library shelf for years. Now she would publish it. As early as July of 1875 the sisters had written to the editor of *The People* for advice on the project, informing him that "She [Julia] had never intended publishing these translations, till our town had persecuted us so unjustly about our taxes." They went on to say:

We thought it might help our cause to have it known that a woman could do more than any man has ever done, while we are denied all protection from any quarter, made to pay more money than any of the inhabitants of the place, without any voice in the matter. . . .

We rode over to Hartford, yesterday, and called at several houses to learn the cost of publication. Shall learn definitely, tomorrow, the actual cost from one of the best houses. But it occurred to us, this morning that perhaps you would know if it could be done with less expense in Philadelphia. . . . If there is anything to be made by

publishing this work, we would like it to be made by *suffragists*. We do not expect in our life-time to realize enough from the sale of the books to pay the cost of publication. We should publish one thousand copies, at first as soon as could be done.¹⁹

The editor in replying suggested that the sisters would better serve their cause by a direct contribution of money, at which they demurred, commenting, "It seems our State has given twenty-five thousand dollars to your Centennial, to glorify principles which neither the men who got it up, or our forefathers, ever practiced, or ever intended to practice; neither do those who vote this money: but they may be obliged to, for truth ever comes up at the last. It is never suppressed." Then they added:

We learned, last week, there was a publishing-house in Hartford that favored our cause, and will assist us in selling our books. We have never expected the sale of the books would pay the expense of publishing, which will be about five thousand dollars. We can spare this money, and we propose, also, selling off half our land, (owning one hundred and thirty acres, from half of which we derive no profit,) that our town may not be able to take more from our property than from any of its citizens, as it has done heretofore.²⁰

The house in Hartford that favored their cause was the American Publishing Company, a firm whose major claim to fame is Mark Twain's association with it as a director and as author.²¹ Located at 284 Asylum Street, the American Publishing Company was a subscription house. Its books were sold not in bookstores but by agents who carried their wares across the country soliciting individual orders. Its contracts were signed "on the basis of sample dummies, the required number of copies periodically supplied by the publisher on a cash basis."²² As Julia Smith had remarked, it was "more sensible to spend \$1,000 on printing a Bible than to buy a shawl."²³ By November 1875, the sisters Smith contracted with the American Publishing Company to print Julia's Bible. From their Hartford bank stock they paid \$4,000 for the printing of 1,000 copies, and the publication date was set for April 1876.

Like most subscription houses, the American Publishing Company regarded religious books as a staple of the business. Its list included a family Bible "so arranged that 'Family Portraits may be preserved within its sacred lids.'"²⁴ During the Centennial year, under the aegis of its president, Elisha Bliss, the company issued, besides Mark Twain's *Tom Sawyer* and works by Charles Dudley Warner and

Julia E. Smith. Photograph courtesy of the Historical Society of Glastonbury.

Bret Harte, a biography of the evangelist D. L. Moody and a book entitled *Bible Lands Illustrated*. Through canvassers such books found their way to thousands of readers who never entered a bookstore. The firm boasted that by means of subscription selling "they reach directly the whole reading public."²⁵

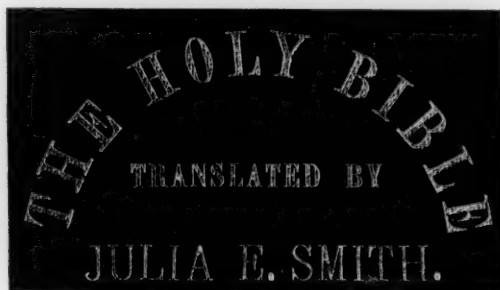
The American Publishing Company, advertising for agents to sell its publications, made a strong appeal to women: "The sale of our works is an honorable and praiseworthy employment, and is particularly adapted to disabled Soldiers, aged and other Clergymen having leisure hours, Teachers and Students during vacation, &c., Invalids unable to endure hard physical labor, Young Men who wish to travel. . . . *Women who can devote time to the work, often make the best of canvassers.*"²⁶ It is therefore entirely probable that women canvassers sold Julia Smith's feminist Bible. It is even more probable that women compositors worked on the publication. According to the *Hartford Daily Times* of December 11, 1875, "The work is now going through the press of the American Publishing Company, Hartford, and is to be brought out next April. This work seems to make a new departure in several directions. It is not only the first translation of the Bible by a woman, but it is (or will be) the first work 'set up' by a type-setting machine; and this machine is itself run by a woman—and another woman does the proof reading. Everything connected with this Bible seems to be on a new and original plan."²⁷

It was eminently fitting that that new and original plan was feminist in nature. Typesetters customarily entered only their first names or their surnames or their initials at take-marks in the printer's copy of books. Mark Twain's *Adventures of Tom Sawyer* was published in 1876, the same year that saw the emergence of Julia Smith's Bible. The printer's copy of *Tom Sawyer* bears the names of four compositors, of whom two are women: Lizzie and Nellie.²⁸ May it not be assumed that either or both of those women compositors worked on the printer's copy of the Smith Bible?

It was indeed a feminist Bible that rolled from the press of the American Publishing Company. In May 1876, between the eighth and the twenty-seventh of the month, 1,000 copies of what was called "Miss Smiths Bible" emerged from the binderies, 950 bound in cloth and 50 in library bindings.²⁹ A royal octavo priced at three dollars—a price that prevented the translator from breaking even—*The*

Holy Bible: Containing the Old And New Testaments; Translated Literally from the Original Tongues was a somber-looking affair.³⁰ Yet, bound in black cloth with gilt-stamped lettering on the front cover, it presented in its 1,170 double-columned pages proof of what one woman could accomplish.

In its sale and distribution the translator was aided by other women. For example, Sara Andrews Spencer of the Spencerian Business College in Washington wrote to Isabella Beecher Hooker: "Miss Wooster [a student] pasted Miss Smith's autograph in all of her Bibles and, as enclosed receipt will show, I took them to Ballantynes to be sold on commission." She added that she would "advertise the Bibles . . . in the Star & Post upon the best terms I can make."³¹



If Abby Smith had raised a breeze with her cows, Julia Smith raised something of a whirlwind with her Bible. Amos A. Lawrence, the merchant-philanthropist, wrote to the translator: "You remember that the Devil was said to be afraid of the Bible in Martin Luther's time. So now, according to your account, the selectmen of Glastonbury and the lawyers begin to dread the appearance of the new translation. May the result be the same as in Luther's time, and may Glastonbury become as renowned as Wittenburg."³² One reader went so far as to pontificate: "My opinion of it is that it has power to reach to a substratum of thought at a depth beyond where King James's can reach."³³ Although some poked fun at the "Alderney Edition" of the Bible that had appeared out of Glastonbury, and bovine allusions

Advertisement for Julia Smith's translation of the Bible. Printed on the verso of the front cover of her pamphlet Abby Smith and Her Cows.

A LITERAL AND EXACT TRANSLATION
OF THE
HOLY BIBLE,
BOTH OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS, FROM THE
ORIGINAL TONGUES,

By JULIA E. SMITH.

The announcement of this translation of the Scriptures from the Hebrew and Greek tongues, by a woman, unaided and alone, so attracted the attention of many prominent scholars, that they have taken the trouble to closely examine the Bible since its publication, and have subjected it to the closest scrutiny. The result has been most complimentary to the translator, and she has received thousands of congratulatory letters from all parts of the country.

This translation will prove of great service to all who desire to read the Bible in its purity, and who wish to apply their own judgment in deciding the meaning of its original terms. Nothing has been altered, but the old text has been literally and exactly translated, and rendered word for word and sentence for sentence. It is worthy the attention of all.

As the object of publication was not profit, the price has been made very low, in order to place it within the reach of all, and is as follows:

Bound in a Handsome and Durable Manner, \$3.00 per copy.

The volume will be sent by mail, postpaid, to any part of the country, upon receipt of the price. Usual discounts to the trade. Orders and remittances can be made to JULIA E. SMITH, Glastonbury, Conn., or to

AMERICAN PUBLISHING CO.,

Hartford, Conn.

punctuated scriptural commentaries, the general reaction must have gratified the translator, then in her mid-eighties. One reaction did more than gratify—it led to her marriage. Amos Andrew Parker of Fitzwilliam, New Hampshire, a retired judge, who had recorded his personal recollections of Lafayette, was attracted by a notice of the Bible. He ordered a copy and proceeded to Glastonbury to meet the translator. On April 9, 1879, almost three years after publication, the octogenarians were married.

Meanwhile, despite the impact of the "Alderney" Bible, taxation without representation continued for the Smith sisters. In 1877, Julia compiled a pamphlet, *Abby Smith and Her Cows*, which she published through the American Publishing Company. The death of Abby Hadassah in 1878 left Julia bereft. The two sisters had shared all the humiliations and struggles, all the triumphs and achievements of a long lifetime. Now Julia, at eighty-six, was on her own. The next year, probably out of her

loneliness and the desolation of the Glastonbury farm, she married Amos Parker and moved to his home in Hartford. Despite their common scriptural interests, the marriage does not appear to have been happy. Julia's closing years were marked by a few noteworthy events: in 1881 she edited *Selections* from her mother's poems,⁸⁴ and in 1884 she addressed the Hartford Woman Suffrage Association. On March 6, 1886, in her ninety-fourth year, she died in Hartford but, in accordance with instructions left in her Bible, she was buried in the family plot at Glastonbury and on her tombstone her maiden name was carved.

The Woman's Journal pronounced her "remarkable for learning, her public spirit, and her love of justice."⁸⁵ All three attributes had played a part in the first translation of the whole Bible by a woman. With her "Alderney" Edition, Julia Evelina Smith fired a feminist shot for America's Centennial year that still echoes a century later.

Notes

1. The writer is grateful to Patricia Ballou, Barnard College Library, for bringing Julia Smith's Bible to her attention. For biographical sketches of Julia Smith and her family, see *Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v. "Smith, Abby Hadassah"; Helen K. Greenaway, "Sarah Josepha Hale and Julia Evelina Smith," *Germantowne Crier* 20, no. 2 (May 1968): 45-51; Addie Stancliffe Hale, "Those Five Amazing Smith Sisters," *Hartford Daily Courant*, May 15, 1932, p. e3; "In Memoriam [Julia E. Smith]," *Woman's Journal* 17, no. 11 (March 13, 1886): 85; *Notable American Women, 1607-1950*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971), 3:302-4; "Obituary. Julia E. Smith Parker," *Hartford Times*, March 8, 1886, p. 2; "Abby Smith," *Woman's Journal* 9, no. 31 (August 3, 1878): 244; Elizabeth G. Speare, "Abby, Julia, and the Cows," *American Heritage* 8, no. 4 (June 1957): 54-57, 96.

2. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Matilda Joselyn Gage, eds., *History of Woman Suffrage*, 6 vols. (New York: Arno Press & The New York Times, 1969), 3: 337.

3. Her diary is now in the Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford.

4. Julia E. Smith, *Abby Smith and Her Cows with a Report of the Law Case Decided Contrary to Law* (Hartford: American Publishing Company, 1877), p. 64.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 63.

6. *Dictionary of American Biography*.

7. According to Rev. P. Marion Simms, *The Bible in America* (New York: Wilson-Erickson, 1936), pp. 149

and 252, Julia E. Smith was "the only woman in the world's history to translate the entire Bible into any language." Simms described her translation of the New Testament as an "immersion" version, made from the commonly received Greek text." See also Margaret T. Hills, ed., *The English Bible in America* (New York: American Bible Society and the New York Public Library, 1961), pp. 288-89; Smith, *Abby Smith and Her Cows*, especially pp. 57 and 62.

8. "Abby Smith," *Woman's Journal* 9, no. 31 (August 3, 1878): 244.

9. The manuscript is deposited in the Connecticut Historical Society. It is composed of numerous small folios, unbound, made from paper of the period, and including over ten thousand pages.

10. Smith, *Abby Smith and Her Cows*, p. 64.

11. *The Holy Bible: Containing the Old And New Testaments; Translated Literally from the Original Tongues* (Hartford: American Publishing Company, 1876), p. 636.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. [1-2].

13. For the sisters' suffrage activities see especially Stanton et al., eds., *History of Woman Suffrage*, 3: 76, 98, 328-29, 336-37 and Smith, *Abby Smith and Her Cows*. On January 29, 1878, the sisters petitioned the Connecticut State Senate, "praying we may be relieved from the stigma of birth. . . . We cannot even stand up for the principles of our forefathers . . . without having our property seized and sold at the sign-post, which we have suffered four times; and have also seen eleven acres of our

meadow-land sold to an ugly neighbor for a tax of fifty dollars—land worth more than \$2,000. . . . For being born women we are obliged to help support those who have earned nothing, and who, by gambling, drinking, and the like, have come to poverty, . . . And when men meet to take off the dollar poll-tax, the bill for the dinner comes in for the women to pay" (*History of Woman Suffrage*, 3: 336).

14. *Windham County Transcript*, August 19, 1875. quoted in Smith, *Abby Smith and Her Cows*, p. 58.

15. Quoted in Greenaway, "Sarah Josepha Hale and Julia Evelina Smith," p. 50.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 50.

17. Stanton et al., eds., *History of Woman Suffrage*, 3: 337.

18. Quoted in Smith, *Abby Smith and Her Cows*, p. 67.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 57.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 58.

21. For the American Publishing Company, see Frank E. Compton, "Subscription Books," *The Bowker Lectures on Book Publishing. First Series* (New York: The Typophiles, 1943); Hamlin Hill, *Mark Twain and Elisha Bliss* (Columbia, Mo.: University of Missouri Press, 1964); Marjorie Stafford, "Subscription Book Publishing in the United States, 1865-1930" (M.S. thesis, University of Illinois, 1943); John W. Tebbel, *A History of Book Publishing in the United States*, 2 vols. (New York and London: R. R. Bowker Co.: 1972-75), 2: 104, 541-42.

22. Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt, *The Book in America* (New York: R. R. Bowker, 1951), p. 252.

23. Speare, "Abby, Julia, and the Cows," p. 57.

24. Hill, *Mark Twain and Elisha Bliss*, p. 15.

25. Advertisement in Smith, *Abby Smith and Her Cows*, in the New York Public Library.

26. *Ibid.*

27. *Hartford Daily Times*, December 11, 1875, quoted in Smith, *Abby Smith and Her Cows*, p. 64. The writer exaggerated about the typesetting machine. For considerably earlier typesetting machines, see John W. Moore, *Moore's Historical, Biographical, and Miscellaneous Gatherings . . . relative to Printers* (Concord, N.H.: Republican Press Association, 1886), p. 79.

28. Information from Paul Baender of the Department of English, University of Iowa, who is editing *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*.

29. American Publishing Company, Books Received from the Binderies, December 1, 1866, to December 31, 1879 (ledger in Berg Collection, New York Public Library).

30. Lynds E. Jones, comp., *The American Catalogue . . . July 1, 1876* (New York: Peter Smith, 1941), p. 68. The Bible's collation is [2], 892; 276 pp.

31. Sara Andrews Spencer to Isabella Beecher Hooker, Washington, D.C., May 8, 1878. In the Stowe-Day Foundation, Hartford (courtesy Diana Royce, librarian, Nook Farm Research Library). The receipt of Wm. Ballantyne & Son is for twenty-four Bibles at \$2.50 each.

32. Greenaway, "Sarah Josepha Hale and Julia Evelina Smith," p. 50.

33. Smith, *Abby Smith and Her Cows*, p. 74.

34. Hannah Hadassah (Hickock) Smith, *Selections from the poems of . . . by her daughter, Julia E. Smith* (Hartford: Press of the Case, Lockwood and Brainard Company, 1881). This publishing firm was also a subscription house.

35. "In Memoriam [Julia E. Smith]," *Woman's Journal* 17, no. 11 (March 13, 1886): 85.



*Portrait of Arnold Schönberg.
LC-USZ62-52575*

ARNOLD SCHÖNBERG

by Edgar Breitenbach

The purpose of this essay is to restore a remarkable pedigree to a painting which for many years has been displayed in the Whittall Pavilion in the Library of Congress. I am referring to the painting by Arnold Schönberg which was presented to the Library in October 1954 by Leopold Stokowski, the famous conductor. Schönberg completed the painting in 1910, and in 1949 he dedicated it to Stokowski, who believed it to be a self-portrait.¹ This conclusion, however, is in error and, as we shall see, the correct title is *Vision*.

In the decades preceding the First World War, Germany enjoyed a high degree of prosperity, unprecedented in her history, that reached far down into the lower strata of society. Yet for all the material well-being, there was widespread uneasiness among German intellectuals, accompanied by tensions which increased year by year after the turn of the century. It was not so much social unrest as a deep disgust with crass materialism. There were demands for a new spirituality, for a simpler form of life, reminiscent of Rousseau's "back to nature." As one of the contemporaries put it:

We are standing today at the turning point of two long epochs, similar to the state of the world fifteen hundred years ago, when there was also a transitional period without art and religion—a period in which great and traditional ideas died and new and unexpected ones took their place. . . . The hour is unique. Is it too daring to call attention to the small, unique signs of the time?²

These words were written in 1911; five years later, their author was dead on the battlefields of France. By that time the chiliastic enthusiasm was spent.

During the latter half of the nineteenth century Munich replaced Düsseldorf as the center of the German art world. Its Academy of Art was the most renowned in the country and the bastion of the art establishment. The first revolt against the traditional ways occurred in 1892, when a group of dissident artists formed the *Sezession*. It did not take very long before the secessionists became



Schönberg's *Vision*.
LC-USZ62-60632

Edgar Breitenbach is the Library's honorary consultant in graphic arts and cinema and former chief of the Prints and Photographs Division.

and the **BLAUE REITER**

academicians in their turn, and thus a new anti-establishment movement was created. Even more short-lived and today all but forgotten, it carried the significant name *Die Scholle* ("the soil"), thereby indicating the belief of its members in the regenerating influence of communion with nature. Finally, in January 1909, a new group was formed under the intentionally neutral name of *Neue Künstlervereinigung München* ("New Artists' Association of Munich"). Its leader was Wassily Kandinsky.

Kandinsky, a lawyer by training and a professor of economics in Moscow, came to Munich in 1896 to become an artist. He enrolled in the private art school of Anton Azbé and later established a similar school himself, called *Phalanx*. In the spring of 1909 the *Neue Künstlervereinigung* sent a letter to prospective patrons, probably drafted by Kandinsky, which outlined the association's programs.

We take the liberty of drawing your attention to an artists' organization formed in January 1909 which hopes, through the exhibition of serious works of art, to work for the promotion of art to the best of its ability. It is our belief that an artist, in addition to the impressions he receives from the external world, that is to say nature, is constantly collecting experiences from an inner world. The search for artistic forms, which express the interpenetration of all these experiences, forms freed from everything superfluous, expressing nothing but what is essential, in short a search for an artistic synthesis, seems in our opinion a solution which today spiritually links more and more artists to each other.³

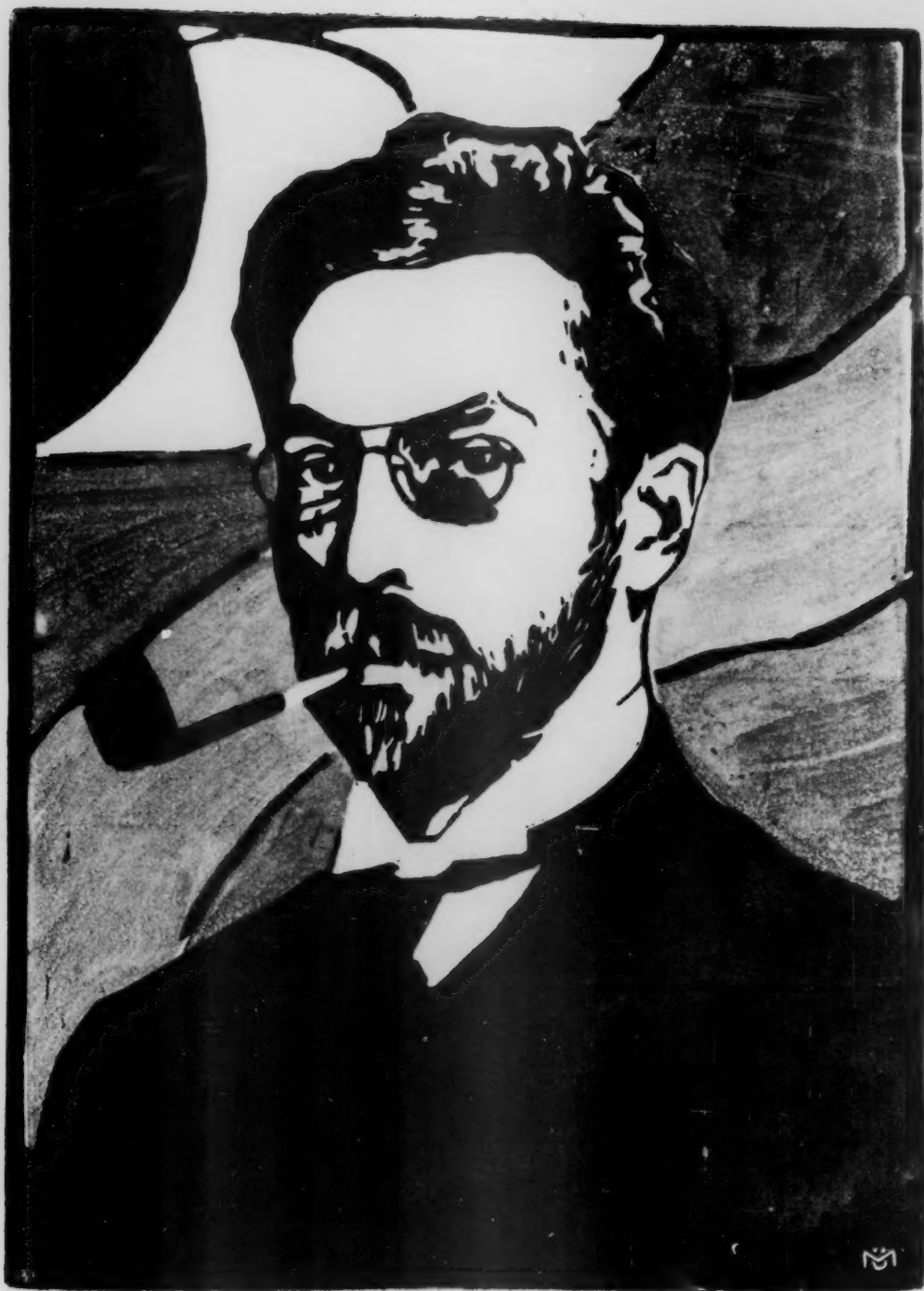
The first major problem which the new association faced was to find a gallery willing to accept their exhibitions. After much prodding on the part of Hugo von Tschudi, the newly appointed director of the Bavarian State Museums, Heinrich Thannhauser, owner of the largest commercial art gallery, finally agreed to accept the group. The first exhibition took place in December 1909 and was followed by a second one nine months later. Both were complete failures in the eyes of the public and the critics. Practically the only words of understanding and sympathy came from Hugo von Tschudi and from an outsider, a young painter who valiantly defended the group in the press and who subsequently was offered a membership and given a voice in the association's affairs. His name was Franz Marc.

In contrast to the first exhibition, which included only sixteen Munich painters, the second exhibition was international. Many of the French painters who subsequently enjoyed global fame were repre-

sented: Braque and Picasso, Derain, Vlaminck, and Odilon Redon. When the time came to hold a third exhibition, tension among the members of the association became noticeable. It is easy to blame the more conservative members for being too stodgy. They evidently felt that the two previous failures proved that the group had become too experimental and thus had lost touch with the critics and public alike. When the jury met, they voted down Kandinsky's entry. This rejection was the signal for Kandinsky, Marc, Alfred Kubin, Gabriele Münter, and several others to leave the association in protest. The new dissidents frantically arranged an exhibition of their own, held in two rooms of the Thannhauser Gallery, adjacent to the third exhibition of the New Artists' Association. It opened on December 18, 1911, and closed early in January 1912. Its title was "First Exhibition of the Editors of the *Blaue Reiter*." The *Blaue Reiter Almanac*, which Kandinsky and Marc had been working on since the summer of 1911, was finally published in May 1912. Both the exhibiton and almanac were of seminal importance. They were a landmark in the history of modern art, and their impact was comparable to that of the Armory Show in New York in 1913. It was at this exhibition that Arnold Schönberg's painting, which is now in the possession of the Library, was displayed, while a reproduction was included in the almanac.

Kandinsky became acquainted with Schönberg's music through the latter's famous book *Harmonielehre*, which before it appeared in book form was published in installments in the Berlin periodical *Die Musik* in 1910. Kandinsky quotes from it in his book *Über das Geistige in der Kunst . . .* [On the Spiritual in Art], written in 1910 and published the following year, and goes on to say: "Schönberg's music opens a new realm to us where musical experiences are not acoustical ones but experiences of the soul."⁴ What Kandinsky evidently felt to be the common denominator between his own art and Schönberg's music was later poignantly expressed by Franz Marc, who, after listening to Schönberg's music, observed: "Can you imagine a kind of music in which tonality (i.e., the use of one key) is completely absent? I was constantly

Gabriele Münter's 1906 portrait of Wassily Kandinsky. The Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York.





Kandinsky sketched this design in 1911 for the cover of the *Blaue Reiter Almanac*. *Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, Munich*. A 1912 copy of the almanac is in the collections of the Rare Book and Special Collections Division in the Library of Congress.

Kandinsky designed this poster for the first exhibition of the *Neue Künstlervereinigung München* ("New Artists' Association of Munich"). *Fondation Marguerite et Aimé Maeght, Paris*.

reminded of Kandinsky's "Large Composition" in which there is also not a trace of a key. . . ."⁵

But this is not all. Kandinsky and other artists around him believed that there was a close relationship between music and the visual arts—so close, indeed, that each note corresponded to a definite color; thus, music could be translated into painting and painting into music. Therefore, it is not by chance that Kandinsky frequently chose musical terms as titles for his abstract compositions, as in

"Klänge." Kandinsky and his friends believed in the totality of art. For this reason the *Blaue Reiter Almanac* is devoted not only to the visual arts but also to music and the performing arts, the latter being represented by Kandinsky's own dramatic piece. Significantly, he called it *Der Gelbe Ton* [The Yellow Sound], thus emphasizing the synthesis of the arts he had in mind. The music for this play was written by Theodor von Hartmann, a Russian composer.



**NEUE
KÜNSTLER VEREINIGUNG = MÜNCHEN
AUSSTELLUNG I**

IN DER „MODERNEN GALERIE“

VON H. THANNHAUSER THEATINERSTR. 7.

VOM 1 BIS 15 DEZEMBER 1909



In 1912, after the appearance of Schönberg's *Harmonielehre*, some of his devoted friends compiled a small volume of testimonials in his honor which was published by Kandinsky's Munich publisher, R. Piper. This book contains an essay by Kandinsky on Schönberg as a painter. He tells us that Schönberg produced two kinds of pictures: figures or landscapes painted from nature, which their creator considered mere "finger exercises" and on which he placed no particular value, and "visions," consisting of intuitively conceived heads, which he painted to give form to emotions he was unable to express through music. He then goes on to say:

Schönberg does not paint in order to create a "beautiful" or a "pleasing" picture, but while he paints he does not actually think of the picture at all. His aim is not to represent an objective image but rather to fix his subjective "feeling," and in order to do this he uses only such means as appear to him unavoidable at the moment. Not every professional painter can pride himself on this creative manner. . . . We see that in all of Schönberg's pictures the inner desire of the artist is expressed through its corresponding form. Just as in his music (if I may say so as a layman) he disregards in his paintings everything that is superfluous (that is to say, harmful). He goes directly to the essential (i.e., the necessary), shunning all "beautifications" and fine details.⁵

Concerning our painting, Kandinsky says: "Painted on a small piece of canvas (or a piece of carton), this 'vision' is merely a head in which only the eyes outlined in red speak to us strongly."

People, of course, react differently when they look at a painting. August Macke (1887–1914), the youngest among the contributors to the almanac, had helped to edit the book in its final stages. He was a man firmly rooted in this world. Neither Marc's quasi-religious philosophy nor Kandinsky's often involved theories concerning aesthetics and art had much appeal for him. When he received his copy of the *Blaue Reiter Almanac* he wrote to his friend Franz Marc, commenting on the book: "And finally that Schönberg. He made me really mad. These green-eyed watery buns [*Wasserbrötchen*] with an astral glance. I won't say anything against the Self-Portrait from Behind. But do these tidbits [*Bröckchen*] really justify all the fuss about the 'painter' Schönberg?"⁷

Arnold Schönberg, who painted intermittently until about 1940, does not have a place in the history of art, nor does he need one. His greatness as a musician is uncontested. Painting was for him a sideline, pursued partly as a diversion, partly from inner necessity. We look at his paintings with the same interest with which we look at the watercolors of Goethe, whom nobody would classify as a painter either. The Library of Congress is proud to own one of Schönberg's paintings. Now that the pedigree of the picture has been reestablished, we hope that a future edition of the *Blaue Reiter Almanac* will correct the footnote "Now untraceable."⁸

Notes

1. The inscription in Schönberg's hand in the lower left reads: To Leopold Stokowski; Arnold Schoenberg, September 1949; that in the lower right reads: Arnold Schönberg, 16. III. 1910.

2. Franz Marc, "Two Pictures," in *The Blaue Reiter Almanac*, ed. Wassily Kandinsky and Franz Marc. New documentary edition . . . by Klaus Lankheit (New York: Viking Press, 1974), p. 69.

3. Rosel Gollek, *Der Blaue Reiter im Lenbachhaus München; Katalog der Sammlung in der Städtischen Galerie* (Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1974), p. 2. Author's translation.

4. Wassily Kandinsky, *Über das Geistige in der Kunst, insbesondere in der Malerei; mit acht Tafeln und zehn*

Originalholzschnitten (Munich: R. Piper & Co., 1912), p. 29. Author's translation.

5. Lothar Günther Buchheim, *Der Blaue Reiter und die "Neue Künstlervereinigung München"* (Feldafing: Buchheim Verlag, 1959), p. 146. Author's translation.

6. Wassily Kandinsky, "Die Bilder," in Arnold Schönberg, *Arnold Schönberg* (Munich: R. Piper & Co., 1912), pp. 59–64. Author's translation.

7. Buchheim, *Der Blaue Reiter*, p. 52. This picture, showing Schönberg from behind, walking down a path, was included in both the almanac and the exhibition. Author's translation.

8. Kandinsky and Marc, eds., *The Blaue Reiter Almanac*, p. 276, no. 85.

*But a truce to politics!
We want to present Colonel Roosevelt
to the reader . . . as a picture man:
that is, one in sympathy with
the best aspects of the picture.¹*



LC-USZ62-13272

T. R. ON FILM

by Veronica M. Gillespie

The History of the Collection

It has been said that during the silent newsreel period no president was more photogenic than Theodore Roosevelt. He was unusually cooperative with motion picture photographers, often pausing in the midst of official ceremonies to face the camera, bow, wave, smile, gesture, or otherwise accommodate the

cameraman.² Because of these and other fortunate circumstances, the Theodore Roosevelt Collection of motion pictures in the Library of Congress now constitutes a major visual record of the first decades of

Veronica M. Gillespie is the supervisor of the Theodore Roosevelt Project in the Motion Picture Section, Prints and Photographs Division.



THE ROOSEVELT FILMS

on 16 mm. Stock
for Household Projection

THE ROOSEVELT FILMS are available on 16 mm. non-inflammable stock for household projection, and orders for single productions, or for the series, may now be placed with the Roosevelt Film Library.

The productions immediately available are:

T. R. Himself
Roosevelt, Friend of the Birds
The Roosevelt Dam
Roosevelt, the Great Scout

The following will be ready at a later date:

The Panama Canal
The River of Doubt
Roosevelt at Home
Roosevelt's Return through Europe
T. R. Comes Back
Roosevelt in the Great War
The Roosevelt Policies
Roosevelt, Big Game Hunter

Further information may be had by applying to Miss Caroline Gentry, Director of Films, Roosevelt House, 28 East 20th Street.



the twentieth century; it contains rare early motion pictures, some of which are believed to be the only extant copies.

The actual compilation of the collection was undertaken by the Theodore Roosevelt Association (TRA), originally established as the Roosevelt Memorial Association (RMA) in January 1919. The RMA, in conjunction with the Women's Roosevelt Memorial Association, founded the Bureau of Roosevelt Research and Information and, by resolution, appointed Hermann Hagedorn as director on November 8, 1920. The bureau was delegated, among other things, to collect all available papers, books, pamphlets, articles, photographs, and motion pictures pertaining to the life and times of the president. As a direct result, in 1924 the Roosevelt Motion Picture Library, where the films were assembled and preserved, was established at Roosevelt House, the president's birthplace in New York City. Miss Caroline Gentry, experienced in the motion picture industry and art, was appointed director of films at the library. For approximately thirty years the RMA successfully gathered a large quantity of motion picture negative and positive stock from old film vaults, newsreel files, movie companies, and individuals throughout the United States, Europe, South America, and Africa.

Films were acquired through various transactions. Many were outright cash purchases; some were donations by individuals, such as Lyman Howe, Charles Urban, William Fox, and John Demarest, as well as by pioneer film companies, such as Biograph, Paramount, Kinograms, and Bray Studios; still others were obtained by loans, gifts, copy negatives, and trade-ins. Collaboration with the various leading motion picture producers was essential to procuring the Roosevelt films. A Film Research Committee was appointed consisting of Will H. Hays, chairman of the Republican National Committee and president of the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America; Elmer Pearson of Pathé Frères; J. Stuart Blackton of Vitagraph; E. W. Hammons of Educational Films; George M. Baynes of Kinograms; and Edwin C. Hill of Fox News. A few of the larger producers made notable contributions; Mr. Blackton, for example, gave the

first important impetus by donating all of the Roosevelt negatives located in the Vitagraph vaults. Brokers and dealers in old, junked, and obsolete films, along with independent cameramen, or footage men as they were called in the newsreel world, were also invited to contribute all available film stock on Roosevelt subjects. Eventually, the collection totaled well over 140,000 feet of negative, duplicate negative, and positive stock of the scenes, events, and individuals attendant to an illustrious career.

In addition to directing the compilation of materials in the collection, Miss Gentry organized the production of the Roosevelt films, which were available on 16-millimeter nonflammable stock for use by various institutions in exhibitions or for household projection.³ With a keen sense of historical purpose, Miss Gentry assembled these documentaries by combining old newsreels and other types of films with interior titles and still shots of cartoons, photographs, and sites dealing with the principal phases of Roosevelt's life. Since these RMA productions, originally assembled in the 1920s and 1930s, were periodically reedited and retitled, they are not easily identified and an accurate count of them is very difficult to determine; it has, however, been estimated that there were at least fifteen.

In 1962 Roosevelt House became the Theodore Roosevelt Birthplace National Historic Site, administered by the National Park Service. The Roosevelt Motion Picture Library was then transferred to the Library of Congress, which the TRA believed was the best institution for the storage, preservation, and scholarly utilization of such valuable visual documents.⁴

The Theodore Roosevelt Collection is but a small component of the National Film Collection in the Library of Congress, which had its origins in 1894 with the copyright registration of the early motion pictures of Thomas A. Edison and is now considered one of the most significant collections in existence. The Roosevelt Collection consists of approximately 375 titles of nitrate-base films, most of which have been preserved on safety-base stock since they are highly flammable and given to autocatalytic disintegration under certain atmospheric conditions. The majority of the films in the collection are black and white (though some are tinted), silent (there is one sound film), 16 or 35 millimeter in size, and one reel in length (some have two reels). Each title

Advertisements like this one promoting the use of the RMA assembled film productions appeared in the Roosevelt House Bulletin in 1929. LC-USZ62-60629

usually has at least one copy of the reference print, the duplicate negative, the archival positive or master positive, and the nitrate original.

In 1975 the National Endowment for the Humanities awarded the Library of Congress a grant to prepare full cataloging and computer-generated access to the entire Theodore Roosevelt Collection. The staff of the Library of Congress National Endowment for the Humanities Cataloging Project is currently preparing individual cataloging records with detailed filmographic and subject analyses for each film. In attempting to provide complete and accurate identification of the motion pictures, the project staff encounters numerous difficulties. With the exception of the RMA productions, the films are, for the most part, untitled newsreel segments and newsfilms. Filmographic data is both incomplete and speculative. There are no reliable written records for most of the films other than the accounts published in the RMA annual reports.

The two most significant descriptors in film identification are the proper title of the film and the name of the company responsible for its production or release. Since almost every important event was photographed simultaneously by newsreel cameramen from several different production companies, identification is severely limited if, as frequently happens with unedited footage, a company's name or logo does not appear on the film along with the main title. If the date of an event in a newsreel segment can be verified, then the film may be identified completely or at least tentatively through a laborious research procedure. However, when complete film productions are involved, they must be validated through an even more exhaustive search using a variety of film research tools.⁵

After the film has been identified, the project staff utilizes cataloging policies adapted from the *Anglo-American Cataloging Rules* for filmographic description and the *Library of Congress Subject Headings* for subject access. Each cataloging entry contains, when possible, the following data: title, production and/or releasing company, date of production, archival physical description, series title, general cataloger's notes, summary of contents, subject headings, added entries, language code, geographic area code, and shelving information. These cataloging records are then coded and translated into the MARC format for films to generate computer output in the form of catalogs, indexes, publications,

special subject listings, and cards for use in manual systems. When completed, such retrieval tools will facilitate more efficient use of the collection while eliminating unnecessary handling and viewing of films. All data compiled by the project staff will be available to researchers in the Motion Picture Section of the Library.

The Films

Roosevelt became a major picture personality during the early twentieth century because he was newsworthy as well as photogenic and because newsfilms were novelties and very popular during their formative years. He was the first United States president whose life was extensively recorded and preserved in the motion picture format. The collection reveals that although Roosevelt obtained fame before the motion picture form was perfected, he was one of the most frequently photographed subjects among public men. The majority of the films in the collection are views of Roosevelt and other national figures participating in political ceremonies, delivering campaign speeches, and attending social activities. These items made excellent newsfilm topics primarily because of the high interest factor involved and the relative ease with which the filming could be preplanned and executed.⁶ The film collection reflects the myriad interests and accomplishments of Roosevelt as a statesman, scholar, naturalist, explorer, traveler, advocate of the strenuous life, conservationist, historian, hunter, Rough Rider, orator, family man, vice president, president, and Progressive party leader.

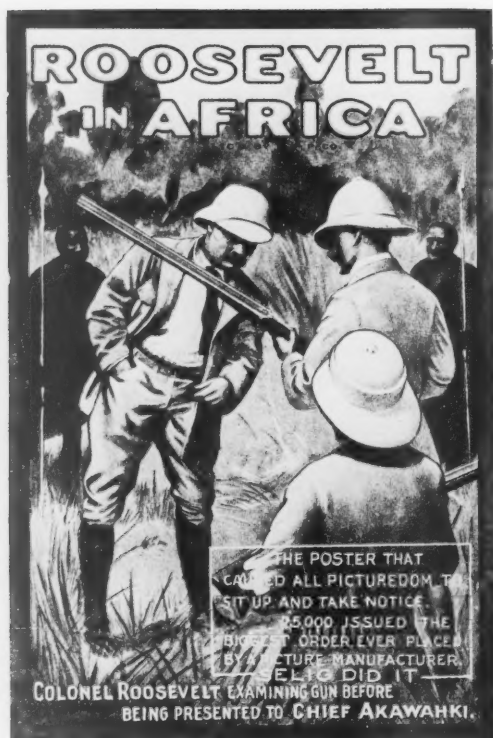
Although Roosevelt was photographed many times during his administrations there are relatively few films that actually portray him as the twenty-sixth president. "T.R. in San Francisco, 1903" is one of the more unusual items from a sociological point of view. He is parading through San Francisco along Van Ness Avenue on May 12, 1903, during a western presidential tour. There are long shots of military escorts, Roosevelt's horsedrawn carriage, and, preceding the carriage, the Ninth U.S. Cavalry Regiment, which, according to newspaper accounts, was one of the first black companies to have had so prominent a position in a public procession.⁷ "President Roosevelt's Inauguration" is a political newsfilm of eminent historical status.⁸ There are shots from various camera positions of Roosevelt arriving at the front steps of the Capitol on March 4, 1905,



Motion picture cameramen photographed both of Roosevelt's inaugural ceremonies. "T.R.'s Inauguration, 1905" includes clear views of Roosevelt taking the oath of office and delivering his inaugural address. LS-USZ62-22828

Roosevelt broke a 117-year tradition by becoming the first president to visit a foreign country during his term of office. The film "T.R. in Panama, November 15, 1906," contains long shots of Roosevelt responding to the official welcoming address delivered by President Manuel Amador Guerrero of Panama. LC-USZ62-60630





Selig Polyscope Company issued this poster to promote the film "Hunting Big Game in Africa," which was released and accepted in theatrical circles as a genuine moving picture of Roosevelt killing lions in Africa. Later it was reputed to be the most "brazen hoax" of the period involving the fake production of an actual news event. The Library of Congress has the only authentic footage of Roosevelt's African expedition, photographed by Cherry Kearton. LC-USZ62-60631

being sworn in by Chief Justice Melville W. Fuller, delivering his inaugural address, and leaving with the rest of his presidential party. "T.R.'s Arrival in Panama, November, 1906," also of major historical importance, records the first time an American president visited a foreign country while in office.⁹ Roosevelt considered the Panama Canal construction one of his most valuable contributions to foreign affairs. He is shown on November 15, 1906, visiting Panama City, where he is officially received by Manuel Amador Guerrero, first president of the republic of Panama. There is a long shot of Presi-

dent Amador Guerrero delivering the welcoming address as other prominent officials look on.

Coverage of Roosevelt's activities during the last decade of his life is rather extensive. His expedition to Africa (1909-10) gave rise to the most notable films depicting him as an "apostle of the strenuous life."¹⁰ "T.R. in Africa, 1909" contains scenes of Roosevelt and his party on a safari in East Africa (most likely in the vicinity of Mt. Kenya, in what was then British East Africa and is now Kenya), views of what is probably part of the Kikuyu and Massai cultural dances being performed for Roosevelt in the village of Nyeri in August 1909, and a medium close shot of Roosevelt planting a tree in Mombasa. "Scenes of African Animals, 1910" shows hippopotamuses sunning on rocks and swimming in what is probably the Tana River in British East Africa, as rhinoceroses graze in a grove of trees in a different location. There are medium close shots of lions roaring and moving through the underbrush, as well as long shots of various animals including elephants, wart hogs, zebras, giraffes, monkeys, African buffalo, and lions. Roosevelt's love of hunting and exploring is evident in these films on his African hunting trip, or as he preferred to call it, his "scientific expedition" sponsored by the Smithsonian Institution.

"King Edward's Funeral, 1910" is a remarkable example of an official political ceremony in which Roosevelt participates with other prominent foreign dignitaries. He is shown representing the United States during the ceremonial funeral procession of King Edward VII of Great Britain in London on May 20, 1910. Also in the procession were Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany, King Ferdinand of Bulgaria, King George I of Greece, King Manuel II of Portugal, King George V of Great Britain, King Haakon VII of Norway, King Alfonso XIII of Spain, King Frederick VIII of Denmark, and Stéphen Pichon, the French minister of foreign affairs.

"Colonel Roosevelt Is Invited to Fly in Arch Hoxsey's Plane at St. Louis, Mo., 1910" contains footage of the first airplane flight by a president. While participating in the Missouri State Republican campaign on October 11, 1910, he was invited to fly in a Wright biplane with Arch Hoxsey as pilot. Included in the film are views of Roosevelt arriving at the Kinloch aviation field accompanied by Herbert S. Hadley, governor of Missouri (1909-13),

a medium close shot of T.R. entering the passenger seat, and long shots of the plane flying and of Roosevelt descending and joining his waiting party. He later commented to a *New York Times* reporter, "You know I didn't intend to do it, but when I saw the thing there, I could not resist it."¹¹ Hoxsey died in a plane crash a year later.

One of the most distinguished groups of films concerns Roosevelt's campaign for the presidency under the banner of the Progressive party, formed when Roosevelt bolted the Republican party. Among the notable titles is "T.R. at Fargo, N.D., during Progressive Campaign, 1912."¹² As part of a western campaign tour, the former president appears speaking to crowds and rallying support for the third party in Fargo on September 6, 1912. There are several views from varying distances of him speaking to crowds from the rear of a train, as well as a fairly close silhouette of T.R. conversing with three men, one of whom appears to be George E. Roosevelt, his cousin and campaign secretary in the 1912 election.

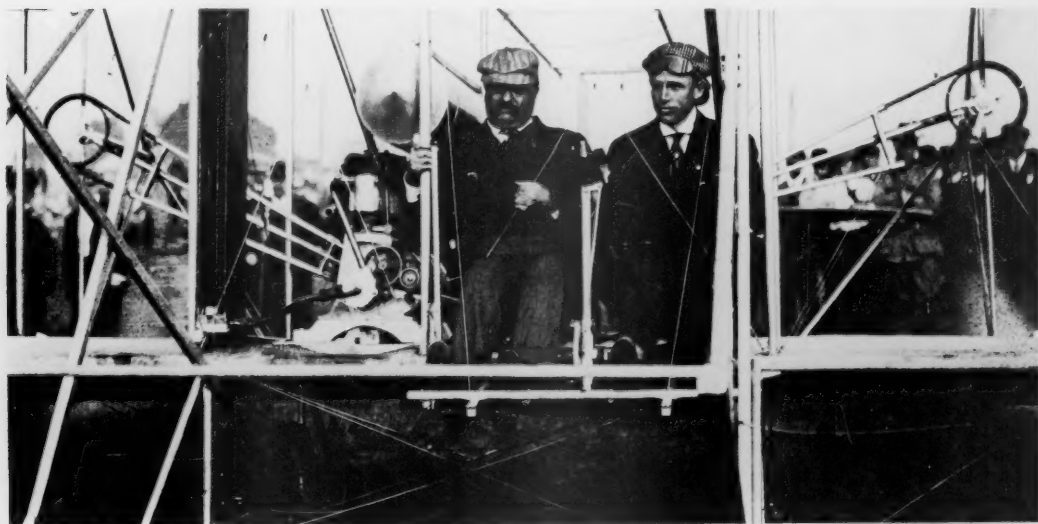
"Hopi Indians Dance for T.R. at Walpi, Ariz., 1913" is illustrative of Roosevelt's intense interest in people and culture.¹³ There are sequences of T.R. traveling through the southwest with his two sons, Archie and Quentin, and a cousin, Nicholas Roosevelt, on August 20, 1913, as well as a medium

close shot of Roosevelt observing a snake dance on the Hopi Indian Reservation.

Roosevelt the conservationist and protector of wildlife is depicted in "T.R. on Pelican Island, 1915."¹⁴ Herbert K. Job of the National Audubon Society photographed the former president and others along the beaches of the bird sanctuary on June 8-12, 1915. Roosevelt joined an Audubon expedition devoted to filming the society's protective work with water birds and appears on an unidentified island off the Louisiana coast with J. A. Coquille, a New Orleans photographer, William Sprinkle, game warden, and M. L. Alexander, head of the Louisiana Conservation Commission.

One of the events receiving massive coverage by the newsreel cameramen was, of course, the memorial services for Roosevelt. Universal Film Manufacturing Company released "T.R.'s Funeral at Oyster Bay, 1919" as a segment of its January Universal Current Events series. There are views of Christ Episcopal Church, the funeral procession on January 8, 1919, and Youngs Memorial Cemetery in Oyster Bay, New York. Other notable segments

A pioneering president, Roosevelt was the first to ride in an automobile (1901) and the first to fly in an airplane (1910). During an aviation meet at Kinloch Field in St. Louis, Missouri, President Roosevelt was a passenger in the biplane piloted by Arch Hoxsey. LC-USZ62-37925



French actress Sarah Bernhardt participating in the celebration supporting French-American cooperation in the war effort on July 4, 1917. LC-USZ62-31509



Suffragists on their way to give William J. Gaynor, mayor of New York City, tickets to the Yonkers suffrage event on August 30, 1913. LC-USZ62-24065



of the film include: a medium close shot of specially delegated New York City mounted police guards passing along the road in front of the church and followed by the hearse; a long shot at the church entrance of the flag-draped casket being placed in the hearse, with a line of funeral procession autos parked behind; a closer shot from a different angle of the casket being borne through the church entrance to the hearse, with a flag-bearer following behind; a close-up of Rev. George E. Talmadge, rector of Christ Episcopal Church and officiant at the ceremony; and a long shot in the cemetery of the casket being shouldered and carried up a steep pathway to the grave site, followed by Archie Roosevelt and other family members. In attendance at the funeral were Gen. Peyton C. March, Army Chief of Staff, Vice President Thomas R. Marshall, who was the official representative of the U.S. government at the funeral, Rear Adm. Cameron M. Winslow, and William Howard Taft.

The Roosevelt Collection reflects the ambitious newsreel coverage that this particular period enjoyed. Large volumes of footage were devoted to Roosevelt's intimate friends, political associates, intellectual peers, and family members, including Henry Fairfield Osborn, paleontologist, first curator of the Department of Vertebrate Paleontology at the American Museum of Natural History in New York City, and recipient of the Roosevelt Medal for Distinguished Service in 1923 for contributions to natural history; Will H. Hays, chairman of the Republican National Committee (1918-21) and postmaster general in Harding's cabinet (1921-22); Gifford Pinchot, governor of Pennsylvania (1923-27, 1931-35), participating in the first gubernatorial bill-signing filmed in the Pennsylvania State Capitol on May 10, 1923; William Boyce Thompson, first president of the RMA, appearing with his wife, Gertrude Hickman Thompson; Oscar S. Straus, secretary of commerce and labor in T.R.'s cabinet (1906-09); Owen D. Young, coauthor with Charles Dawes of the Dawes Plan for German Reparations; Owen Wister, author of *The Virginian* and close literary friend of Roosevelt's, appearing outdoors on a country estate; and Herbert Putnam, eighth Librarian of Congress (1899-1939), Librarian Emeritus (1939-55), and recipient of the Roosevelt Medal for Distinguished Service in 1929 for the administration of public office, appearing both inside and outside the Library of Congress.

Several films are composed of very short, one-shot images of various senators in or around the Capitol, White House, or other federal government buildings in Washington, D.C. There are views of Gilbert M. Hitchcock, Democratic senator from Nebraska (1911-23); Porter J. McCumber, Republican senator from North Dakota (1899-1923); Boies Penrose, Republican senator from Pennsylvania (1897-1921); Hiram Warren Johnson, Republican senator from California (1917-45); Atlee Pomerene, Democratic senator from Ohio (1911-23); Thomas Edward Watson, Democratic senator from Georgia (1921-22); and Reed Smoot, Republican senator from Utah (1903-33).

The Roosevelt Collection is a bonanza of primary source material for those scholars investigating the historical, political, and social roles of women during the first decades of the twentieth century. Some significant sequences include a close shot of Margaret Hill McCarter of Kansas, author, vice president of the Republican National Women's Committee and in 1920 the first woman to address the National Republican Convention; a medium close shot of French actress Sarah Bernhardt speaking in Prospect Park, Brooklyn, New York, on July 4, 1917, on behalf of French-American cooperation in the war effort; scenes of women suffragists visiting Roosevelt at Sagamore Hill, Oyster Bay, New York, on September 8, 1917, and participating in the opening of the second New York state suffrage campaign, with views of Vira B. Whitehouse, state chairwoman of the New York State Woman's Suffrage Party, Helen Rogers Reid, and Harriet B. Laidlaw. Some other well-known women presented in the films are Elizabeth Wood, Cornelia B. Pinchot, Florence K. Harding, Edith Wilson, Edith Roosevelt, Corinne R. Robinson, Grace G. Coolidge, Elizabeth A. Bryce, Mary S. Alger, Sallie W. Bolling, and Helen H. Taft.

Foreign personages also figure prominently in the films. There are various shots from many different camera positions of Viscount James Bryce, ambassador to the United States, with his wife, Elizabeth A. Bryce; King George V and Queen Mary of Great Britain; King Edward VIII of Great Britain; Ferdinand Foch, French marshal; Armando duca della Vittoria Díaz, Italian marshal; and Robert G. Nivelle, former commander in chief of the French army. There are also views of King Albert I and Queen Elisabeth of the Belgians; Raymond Poin-

caré, president of France, and Madame Henriette Poincaré; King Leopold III of the Belgians; and Charles, count of Flanders, all attending the dedication ceremony laying to rest the body of the French unknown soldier in Laeken, Belgium, on July 17, 1927.

This collection may also serve as a useful pictorial history of architectural developments in American buildings and cities during the early twentieth century. There are numerous exterior views and panning shots of the various structural features of architecturally influential historic buildings such as the White House, the Capitol, the Library of Congress, and the Old State House in Boston. The American cities photographed provide an extensive geographical index to the time period; included are scenes of San Francisco, New York, Boston, Chicago, Pittsburgh, Los Angeles, Washington, D.C., Ann Arbor, Albuquerque, Detroit, Saint Paul, and San Diego, as well as lesser-known cities such as Thomson, Georgia, Springfield, Illinois, Roswell, Georgia,

Roosevelt's vigorous campaign style made him a popular target for the newsreel cameramen. LC-USZ62-5138

Rockford, Illinois, Oyster Bay, New York, Northampton, Massachusetts, Mineola, New York, Medora, North Dakota, Fargo, North Dakota, Deadwood, South Dakota, Battle Creek, Michigan, and Billings, Montana.

The Roosevelt Collection is of indispensable value as primary source material to the historian, film scholar, educator, sociologist, political scientist, and, indeed, to anyone concerned with interpreting the human experience. These newsfilms reconstruct the past, ascertain the facts about people, places, and events, and authenticate customs, dress, manners, and artifacts of everyday living by supplying irrefutable historical evidence. Of far more than a transitory interest, the films emphatically reiterate that Theodore Roosevelt is "something more than a picture personality: he is A PICTURE MAN."¹⁵

Selected Titles in the Theodore Roosevelt Collection

<i>Title</i>	<i>Footage (16mm)</i>	
Presidential Events		
President McKinley's inauguration, 1901	115 ft. (35mm)	Charles E. Hughes speaking during campaign, Duquesne, Pa., 1916 13 ft.
T.R. attends McKinley's funeral, 1901	11 ft.	T.R. in New Mexico, 1916 27 ft.
T.R. in San Francisco [1903]	54 ft.	Leonard Wood at Battle Creek, Michigan [1920] 213 ft.
T.R.'s inauguration, 1905	580 ft. (35mm)	Public Events
T.R.'s arrival in Panama, November, 1906	74 ft.	T.R. speaking at the dedication of Roosevelt Dam, 1911 9 ft.
William Howard Taft on rear of platform of train [1908?]	5 ft.	President McKinley Memorial dedicated by William Howard Taft at Niles, Ohio, 1917 40 ft.
President Wilson arrives in New York to lead fourth liberty loan parade [1918]	52 ft.	T.R. and Leonard Wood at the New York Flower Show, 1917 43 ft.
Americanism wins, Coolidge elected [1919?]	14 ft.	Women suffragettes visit T.R. at Sagamore Hill [1917] 4 ft.
President Harding presenting chair used by T.R. at the White House to the directors of R.M.A., October, 1921	28 ft.	T.R. addresses large crowd for the liberty loan in Baltimore, 1918 15 ft.
Political Campaigns		Dedication of Roosevelt House, Oct. 27, 1923 42 ft.
Crowd listening to T.R. speak during Progressive campaign, 1912	5 ft.	Social Events
		Jamestown Exposition, 1907 272 ft.
		T.R. at San Diego Exposition, 1915 43 ft.
		Sarah Bernhardt addresses crowd in Prospect Park, Brooklyn, 1917 4 ft.



Women's Roosevelt Memorial Association meeting 23 ft.
at Roosevelt House, 1923

Presentation of Roosevelt medals, May 1925, 153 ft.
Washington, D.C.

Family Events

Scenes of T.R. at Sagamore Hill, 1912 148 ft.

T.R. attends his son Archie's wedding at Boston, 21 ft.
1917

Scenes of T.R. and his sons Quentin and Archie, 35 ft.
1917-1918

Lieutenant-colonel Theodore Roosevelt arrives in 4 ft.
New York after the World War [1919]

T.R.'s funeral at Oyster Bay, 1919 50 ft.

Scenes of Sagamore Hill [1923?] 354 ft.

National Figures

Chauncey Depew, Senator Perkins, and Governor 41 ft.
Whitman of New York, at GOP Convention
1916, Chicago, Ill.

Elihu Root and Mayor Mitchel of New York, Mr. 6 ft.
Root and American delegates return from Russia
[1917]

T.R., Mayor Mitchel, Governor Charles Whitman 3 ft.
of New York, and Myron Herrick, 1917

Calvin Coolidge as Governor of Massachusetts, 26 ft.
1919

Senators Curtis, Cummins, Moses, and [Repre- 17 ft.
sentative] Mondell [1919?]

General Wood and Calvin Coolidge in Chicago, 164 ft.
1920

William Gibbs McAdoo [191-?] 4 ft.

Foreign Figures

The King of Italy entertains King Edward of 60 ft.
England on his yacht [1907?]

The Prince of Wales visits T.R.'s grave [1919] 8 ft.

Marshal Foch visits Roosevelt House, 1921 5 ft.

The King and Queen of Belgium and Premier 17 ft.
Poincaré of France [1927]

King George and Queen Mary of England [1928?] 9 ft.

Czar Nicholas of Russia [190-?] 11 ft.

Count Von Bernstorff of Germany [191-?] 5 ft.

King Gustav of Sweden greeted by his people 9 ft.
[191-?]

Lord and Lady Bryce [191-?] 9 ft.

Scenes of the British Royal Family [191-?] 15 ft.

T.R.'s Associates

Gifford Pinchot, 1923 44 ft.

Professor Henry Fairfield Osborn, R.M.A. medal- 19 ft.
ist, 1923

Jules Jusserand, 1924 21 ft.

Mr. Hagedorn and Mrs. Wood at Roosevelt House 70 ft.
[1924]

Owen D. Young [1927] 11 ft.

Scenes of Dr. Frank Chapman [1928?] 31 ft.

Scenes of Hastings Hart [1930?] 48 ft.

Dr. Gorgas who had charge of sanitation during 8 ft.
building of the Panama Canal [191-?]

Oscar S. Straus [191-?] 6 ft.

Col. William Boyce Thompson [192-?] 6 ft.

General Goethals [192-?] 12 ft.

Owen Wister [192-?] 45 ft.

Will Hays [192-?] 22 ft.

T.R.'s Journeys

T.R. in Africa, 1909 196 ft.

T.R. in Denmark, 1910 7 ft.

T.R. in Norway, 1910 25 ft.

T.R. reviews French troops at Vincennes, France, 88 ft.
1910

T.R.'s return to New York, 1910 231 ft.

[Scenes of T.R.'s South American trip, 1913] 12 ft.

T.R. and expedition party on the Amazon River, 5 ft.
1913-1914

T.R. on Pelican Island, 1915 36 ft.

Scenes of T.R. on board ship before sailing for 11 ft.
West Indies, 1916

Miscellaneous Titles

T.R. as Assistant Secretary of the Navy leaving the 15 ft.
White House, 1897 (35mm)

Disappearing gun at testing grounds, Sandy Hook, 10 ft.
1898

Launch, U.S. battleship "Kentucky" [1898] 28 ft.

25th Infantry [1898] 20 ft.

Pack mules with ammunition on the Santiago trail, 24 ft.
Cuba [1898]

Admiral Dewey on flagship, 1899 24 ft.

Governor's Foot guards, Conn. [1899]	12 ft.	RMA Assembled Productions	
T.R. seated at his desk in the Outlook office [1914?]	7 ft.	River of Doubt [1913]	964 ft. (35mm, r 1)
T.R. reviewing and speaking to the 13th Regiment at Sagamore Hill, 1917	23 ft.		975 ft. (35mm, r 2)
Original U.S. documents [1920]	45 ft.	Roosevelt, friend of the birds [1924?]	980 ft. (35mm)
Bulloch home, Roswell, Ga., 1923	193 ft.	T.R. himself [c1926]	840 ft. (35mm)
Colonel Lindbergh, Admiral Byrd, and Clarence Chamberlin at flying field just before Lindbergh's flight, 1927	5 ft.	Theodore Roosevelt: fighter for social justice [1934]	214 ft.
Ships in the Panama Canal [191-?]	68 ft.		

Notes

1. "Theodore Roosevelt: The Picture Man," *Moving Picture World* 7 (October 22, 1910): 920.

2. Raymond Fielding, *The American Newsreel, 1911-1967* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972), pp. 50, 90.

3. Eight of the original films are still distributed by the TRA in 16-millimeter and video cassette tape. They may be viewed upon request to Sagamore Hill, Oyster Bay, New York.

4. "The Theodore Roosevelt Association and the T.R.A. Motion Picture Collection," *Theodore Roosevelt Association Journal* 2 (Winter-Spring, 1976), pp. 14-15.

5. For example, *Moving Picture World*; Raymond Fielding, *The American Newsreel*; Kemp R. Niver, *Motion Pictures from the Library of Congress Paper Print Collection, 1894-1912* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967); Terry Ramsden, *A Million and One Nights; a History of the Motion Picture* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1926); Howard L. Walls, *Motion Pictures, 1894-1912, Identified from the Records of the U.S. Copyright Office* (Washington: Library of Congress, 1953); and *Catalog of Copyright Entries* (Washington: Library of Congress, 1951-). The single most knowledgeable source on the history of the Roosevelt films is John A.

Gable, historian, Roosevelt scholar, and executive director of the TRA, who has been invaluable in identifying people, places, events, and dates contained in the footage.

6. Fielding, *The American Newsreel*, p. 54.

7. *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 12-13, 1903.

8. Niver, *Motion Pictures from the Library of Congress*, p. 259.

9. *Washington Post*, November 16, 1906.

10. For additional information on this period of Roosevelt's life, see Cherry Kearton, *Adventures with Animals and Men* (London: Longmans, Green, 1935), pp. 65-74; Cherry Kearton, *Wild Life across the World* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1914), pp. 100-101; and Frederick W. Unger, *Roosevelt's African Trip* (Philadelphia: J. C. Winston Co., 1909).

11. *New York Times*, October 12, 1910.

12. *Fargo Forum and Daily Republican* (Fargo, N.D.), September 6, 1912.

13. Theodore Roosevelt, *A Book-Lover's Holidays in the Open* (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1926), pp. 225-45.

14. *Times-Picayune* (New Orleans), June 7, 8, 10, and 12, 1915.

15. "Theodore Roosevelt: The Picture Man," *Moving Picture World*, p. 920.

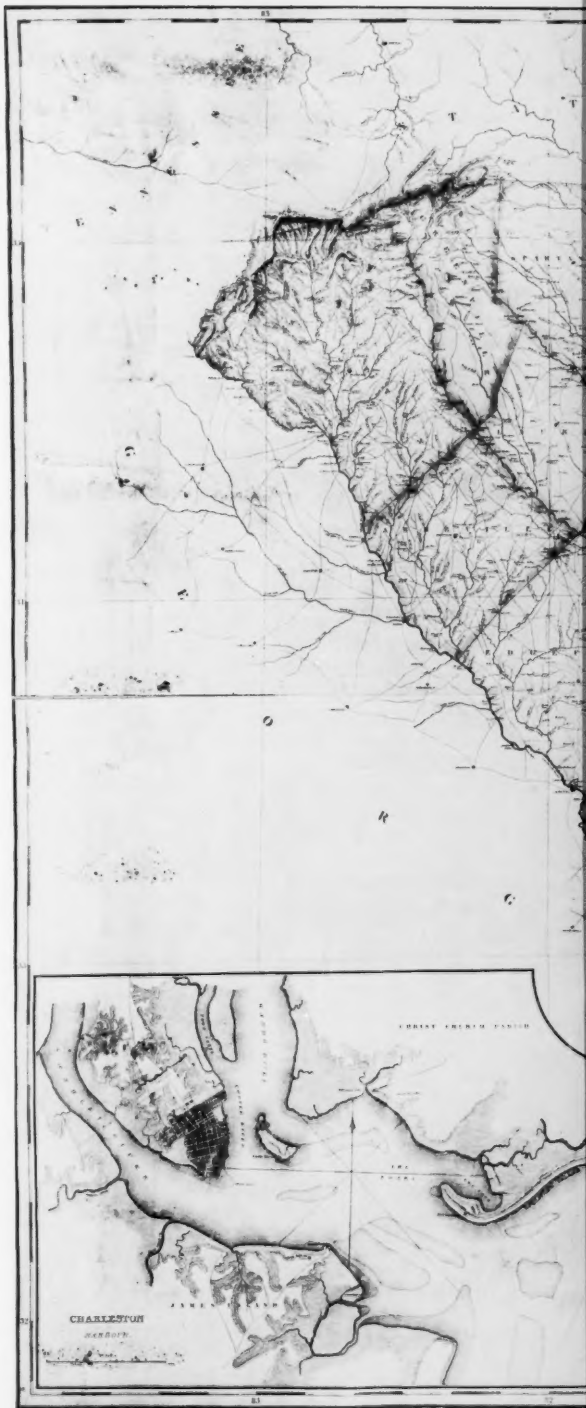
ROBERT MILLS'S ATLAS OF SOUTH CAROLINA

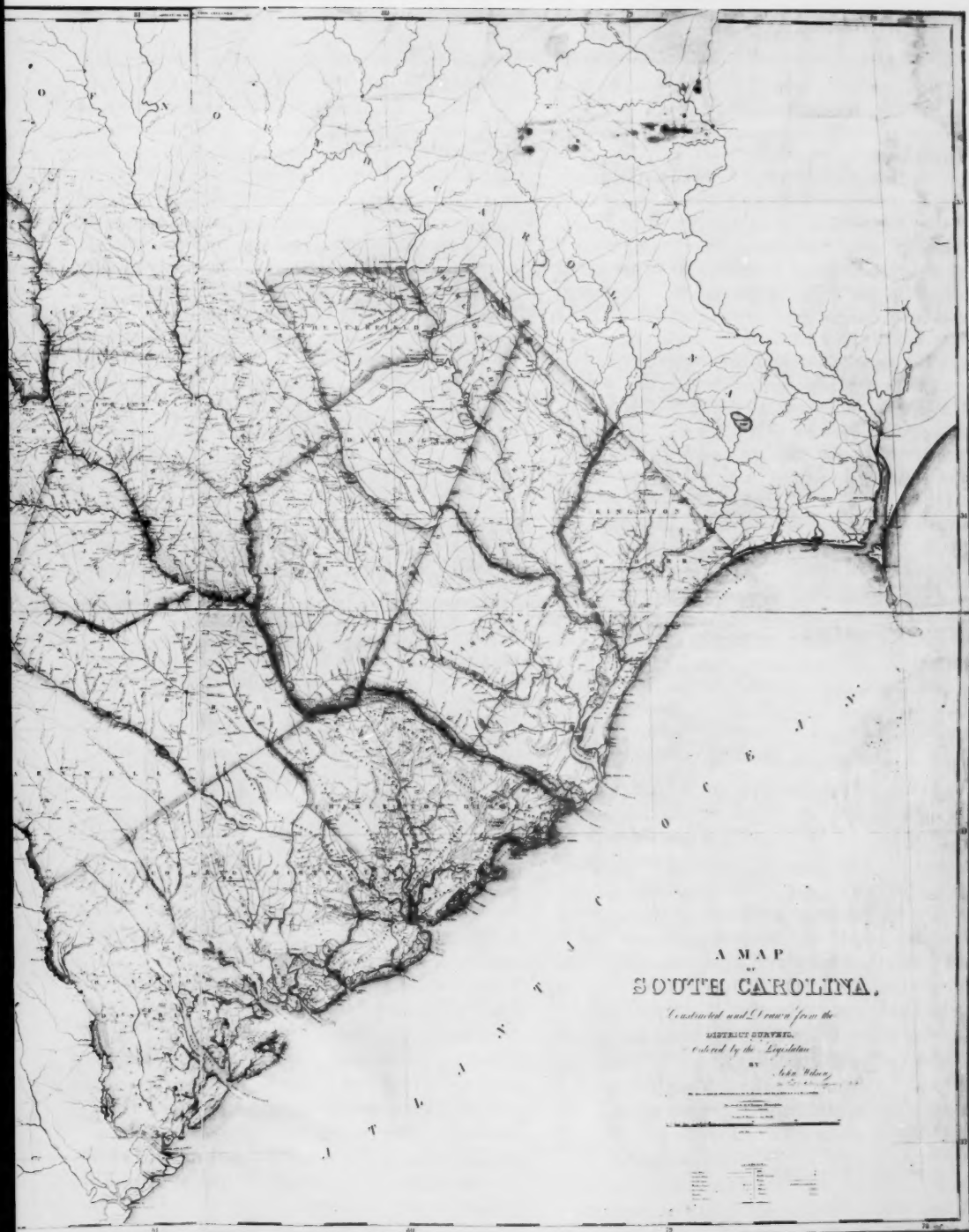
by Walter W. Ristow

Introduced by Abraham Ortelius of Antwerp in 1570, the atlas format received enthusiastic acceptance and shortly became one of the most popular media for cartographic publication. The new format received a distinctive name when the designation *atlas* was applied to the systematic collection of maps assembled by Gerardus Mercator and published in 1595. The atlases of Ortelius and Mercator were worldwide in scope, but a few regional and single-country works had already been published before the close of the sixteenth century. The first edition of Corneille Wytfliet's *Descriptionis Ptolernicae Augmentum*, 1597, is sometimes referred to as the earliest American atlas. A claim for primacy might also be made for the American volume in Blaeu's *Atlas Maior*, 1664, which, like Wytfliet's, gives major emphasis to the New World lands discovered by the Spanish and Portuguese.

Walter W. Ristow is chief of the Geography and Map Division. An abridged version of this paper was read at the Sixth International Conference on the History of Cartography, which convened September 7-11, 1975, at the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, England.

John Wilson's 1822 map of South Carolina, as engraved by Henry S. Tanner.





During the third quarter of the eighteenth century, British military and naval surveyors prepared a number of maps and charts of North American colonies and coasts. Some were assembled and published in large folio volumes, such as Thomas Jefferys's *General Topography of North America* and *American Atlas* and William Faden's *North American Atlas*.

Within a decade following American independence, several atlases of the new nation were published in Britain and America, among them works by Mathew Carey, John Russell, and J. Reid. A quarter century later Henry S. Tanner's *New American Atlas*, published in Philadelphia in 1823, established a high standard of excellence for this format.

A significant American cartographic first was established in 1825 with the publication of Robert Mills's *Atlas of the State of South Carolina*, the earliest atlas of a separate state. A slightly revised edition was published by Mills in 1838, and facsimile editions were issued in 1938 and 1965. No other atlas of South Carolina has been published during the past century and a half. Atlases of Maine and New York appeared in 1829, and more than thirty-five years elapsed before any additional state atlases were published.

Although Mills's atlas was in one sense unique, it was intimately associated with the internal improvement trend which flourished in the United States during the first several decades of the nineteenth century. Westward migration from the Atlantic seaboard began even before the independence of the United States was established. Uncertainty of ownership, reluctance of the English and Spanish governments to relinquish claims, and Indian hostility posed effective deterrents to such movements. Nonetheless, by 1801 there were more than three-quarters of a million people west of the mountains.

Following the War of 1812 the westward movement greatly accelerated. With growth of population and settlements beyond the Appalachians, there were increased pressures to establish transportation and communication routes between the frontier and the seaboard cities. State governments responded by initiating programs to improve the navigability of rivers and to construct canals and roads. A number of states appointed official engineers or surveyors and boards of public works to plan and direct internal improvement projects.

Basic to all such programs were accurate and up-to-date maps, and, beginning in 1789 and continuing through the next four or five decades, maps of each state were compiled, some in several editions. Because few budgets could support coordinated surveying and mapping programs, most of the state maps were compiled by private initiative, usually with some form of legislative encouragement or subsidy. A frequently used procedure was to enact a law requiring such second-level administrative jurisdictions as counties, towns, or districts to prepare maps of their confines and to deliver copies, within a specified time period, to the secretary of state or the state engineer or surveyor. From the manuscript county maps the state surveyor or a commercial publisher or private individual officially subsidized or working on contract would compile the state map.

In the absence of geodetic controls or uniform surveying techniques, fitting together the several county maps was not a simple task. Nonetheless, between 1789 and 1844, more than thirty state maps in some seventy-five editions or issues were published. They varied considerably in accuracy and cartographic quality, but all served as acceptable working tools for planning the far-reaching internal improvement projects.

Only three states—Pennsylvania, South Carolina, and Virginia—produced state maps as official projects during this period. In 1830 in his evaluation of contemporary cartographic materials, Henry S. Tanner noted that "the Legislature of South Carolina, in imitation of the laudible examples [of Pennsylvania and Virginia] has produced a map of the state, that must confer lasting honour on the promoters of the work as well as the state at large."¹ Because preparation of Mills's atlas was intimately related to John Wilson's map of South Carolina published in 1822, it is pertinent to review the inception and development of the latter.

Maps of twelve states, some issued in several editions, had been published before a survey of South Carolina was considered. The initial proposal, contained in a memorial prepared by George Blackburn, a mathematics professor at South Carolina College, was presented to both houses of the legislature in December 1815. The memorial was favorably received by the select committee to which it was referred. The committee's report acknowledged:

That the advantages to be derived from a correct map of the State, are so numerous, and universally admitted as to render unnecessary a particular detail. To every portion of our citizens a correct knowledge of the relative situation and extent of our Districts, rivers, swamps, mountains, roads, and Towns must be of great utility. To military men a *minute* knowledge of the surface of the ground is highly important. . . .

To those who are engaged in Agriculture and commerce, this knowledge is of scarce less importance. But above all it is important to the members of the Legislature, to whom is committed the power of forming congressional and Judicial Districts—of making roads and canals—of opening rivers & swamps—in a word of superintending and controuling all the arrangements of the State, both civil & military.

These obvious advantages [the report continued] when added to those general considerations, which have influenced all enlightened nations in their efforts to extend the bounds of knowledge and science, cannot fail, it is confidently believed, to induce the Legislature to adopt some measure for procuring a correct map of the State.²

Both houses of the legislature approved the proposal, with the recommendation that the map project be under the personal supervision of the governor. An annual appropriation of \$5,000 was authorized, and Professor Blackburn was engaged to carry out astronomical, geodetic, and topographic surveys.

A report on Blackburn's first year's activities was considered by a joint committee of the state legislature in December 1816. The committee agreed "that Mr. Blackburn has collected much information which may be found important in forming a map of the state." The members concluded, however:

. . . your Committee are under an impression that an actual survey of every part of this State is essential to the formation of such a map as the Legislature appears to have desired, they therefore recommend that there be taken an actual survey of the Judicial Districts. . . . That the Governor be authorised to appoint a surveyor to each District . . . and further that when the above materials shall be ready the Governor be authorised to employ a draftsman to form a map of the whole.³

Blackburn's survey was unique, and few other state maps compiled during the early decades of the nineteenth century were laid out on such a precise mathematical base.

It should be noted that the South Carolina map project and related internal improvement programs had the support of successive energetic and far-sighted governors. David R. Williams was in the executive office when Blackburn conducted his survey. Gov. Andrew Pickens, Jr., who succeeded

Williams, carried out the directive of the 1816 legislature by appointing a number of district surveyors. Pickens's report to the house and senate asserted: "[I] spared no exertion . . . and visited every district, believing that, by this means I would be able, the more readily, to employ the persons best qualified" to conduct the district surveys.⁴

Nineteen surveyors were ultimately engaged to prepare maps of the twenty-eight districts or counties in the state. Edgefield was the only district completed in 1817. Its surveyor, William Anderson, mapped Barnwell, the adjoining district, in 1818; Chester, surveyed by Charles Boyd, and Marion, surveyed by Thomas Harlee, were also completed that year. Although Chesterfield District, by John Lowry, was the only survey finished in 1819, that year witnessed great activity, with seventeen surveyors in the field; the twenty-one maps which they prepared were completed in 1820. The final map, of Sumter District, is dated 1821. This large district, in the east central part of the state within the poorly drained coastal plain, "defeated two surveyors before it was successfully mastered by Stephen H. Boykin."⁵

All the surveyors were employed on contract, and their payments ranged from \$700 for small districts to \$1,800 for larger ones.⁶ Stephen Boykin, Marmaduke Coate, and Thomas Harlee each surveyed three districts; two surveys each were conducted by Thomas Anderson and the team of Charles Vignoles and Henry Ravenel; and the balance of the surveyors each accounted for one map, probably of their home districts. Surveyors of Darlington and Marlborough Districts are not identified.

Several years ago Charles E. Lee, director of the South Carolina Archives Department, discovered in the archives sixteen of the original district survey maps which had remained unidentified for almost a century and a half. Photocopies of the manuscript maps have been prepared for the collections of the Library of Congress. The maps are substantially diverse in cartographic and drafting techniques. All show considerable detail in river and stream systems, cities and towns, and rural land

Following pages: Map of the Georgetown District, as surveyed by William Hemmingway around 1820, originally used for Mills's Atlas, from the South Carolina Department of Archives and History (p. 56), and the Georgetown District map, as "improved for Mills' Atlas, 1825" (p. 57).







Reproduction of a drawing of Robert Mills by Glenn Brown, from his History of the U.S. Capitol. LC-USZ62-58653

ownership. Some include marginal notes, legends, and titles. Regrettably, none of the field books submitted by the surveyors with their maps have survived.⁷

Also preserved in the archives is "a little manuscript volume entitled 'James M. Elford's Astronomical Observations of S.C. Made by Order of His Excellency Governor John Geddes 1820. . . . ' Research [by Dr. Lee] reveals it as ground work (determination of latitudes and longitudes for key points) for the map of the state."⁸ With Blackburn's calculations it provided the control data for the map of South Carolina which was compiled from the district surveys. The data were also utilized in the extensive internal improvement program which was launched by the state in 1819.

The responsibility for compiling and drafting a map of South Carolina from the twenty-eight manuscript district maps was assigned to John Wilson, the state's civil and military engineer. A native of Scotland, Wilson received his engineering training at

the University of Edinburgh. In 1800 he emigrated to Charleston, South Carolina, where he was married and resided for more than a decade. During the War of 1812 he was commissioned and placed in charge of Charleston's fortifications. After the war Wilson served for a brief period as a major in the U.S. Corps of Topographical Engineers before he became civil and military engineer for South Carolina.

The 1821 report of the South Carolina Board of Public Works, which includes calculations for a number of places in the state, notes:

Immediately after the adjournment of the last Session of the Legislature, measures were taken for completing the Map of the State. . . . The survey of Sumter district had been so inaccurately made, that an entirely new one would be required; and in several other districts some errors required correction. . . . With these additional materials, and some verbal corrections, the map was placed in the hands of Major Wilson, who undertook to redraft it and to superintend the engraving in Philadelphia, and the correction of the plates, as the artists proceeded in the work. With Henry S. Tanner . . . a contract was made for engraving the plates and delivering fifty-one copies of the map, colored and mounted. These are expected to be received during the present session of the Legislature.

To render the work as correct as possible, it was desirable, that the longitude of the capital of the State, should be correctly ascertained. For this purpose, the instruments in the possession of the Board were placed in the hands of the very able Professor of Mathematics and Astronomy, in the South-Carolina College. The college Observatory was found so defectively constructed and so unsteady, that no reliance could be placed on observations made in it. A small but very useful observatory was therefore erected at the College, to receive the astronomical circle and other instruments. With these advantages, Professor Wallace made his very accurate observation on the solar eclipse of the 27th August last.⁹

The state map, published in 1822, is inscribed "Map of South Carolina, Constructed and Drawn from the District Surveys, Ordered by the Legislature, by John Wilson, late Civil and Military Engineer of So. Car^a. Engraved by H. S. Tanner, Philadelphia. . . . 10th Day of April, 1822." Tanner, it should be noted, was at that time one of America's leading engravers and map publishers. The map, which is forty-four by fifty-eight inches and at the scale of six miles to one inch, includes a large inset of Charleston Harbour. "The Astronomical Observations by Geo. Blackburn & I. M. Elford" are acknowledged. No credit is given, however, to Professor Wallace of South Carolina College.

It has already been noted that the South Carolina legislature appropriated \$5,000 for the year 1816 to begin the district surveys. The same amount was expended in 1817, with an increase to \$9,000 for each of the subsequent two years. The cost of completing the surveys in 1820 approximated \$25,000. With additional costs for engraving and printing, the total expenditure of the state map was upwards of \$90,000.¹⁰

At least twenty-five hundred copies of Wilson's map were printed. The *Journal* of the South Carolina House for December 19, 1822, noted that twenty-two hundred copies of the map were in the possession of the superintendent of public works. The house voted to request the governor to submit one copy to each of the other state and territorial governors and authorized a reduction in the price of sale copies to five dollars.¹¹ In 1820, to direct and coordinate the extensive internal improvement program with which the state map was associated, the South Carolina legislature established a Board of Public Works. Elected members of the board included Joel R. Poinsett, president, and Abram Blanding, John Lyde Wilson, and, of particular interest to this paper, Robert Mills.

Born in Charleston, South Carolina, on August 12, 1781, Robert Mills received his early education at Charleston College and more advanced instruction in Charleston and Columbia under the tutelage of the Irish-born architect James Hoban. In 1798 Hoban moved to Washington, where he was engaged in constructing official buildings. Mills joined Hoban in his office in the new capital city in 1800; he subsequently became acquainted with Thomas Jefferson, spending much of his time at Monticello drafting plans and reading in Jefferson's extensive library. In 1803 Mills became an assistant to Benjamin Latrobe, the newly appointed architect of national buildings. During the five years he was associated with Latrobe, he received further valuable architectural and engineering training.

Robert Mills married Elizabeth Barnwell Smith in 1808 and shortly thereafter set up his own architectural practice in Philadelphia. He designed a number of public and private buildings in that city before moving to Baltimore in 1812 where he remained until 1820. His achievements in Baltimore include the monument to the nation's first president as well as a number of residences, churches, and public buildings. During his Baltimore years,

he also designed homes and office buildings in Richmond, Virginia.

As previously reported, Mills was elected to the South Carolina Board of Public Works in 1820. During the next decade he was occupied with various engineering and architectural projects, including constructing roads and canals and designing public buildings. After the board's functions were transferred in 1822 to the superintendent of public works, Mills continued working on state and private projects on a contract basis. Public buildings designed by Mills are still in use in Charleston and Columbia.

During the board's functional years, most of the district surveys were made, and compilation, drafting, and engraving of the state map were completed. As a practicing engineer and architect, Mills was deeply interested in and strongly supported the map project. He also displayed an early concern for making the district maps more widely available. It is likely that the idea for a state atlas, incorporated in the 1821 report of the board, may have been proposed by Mills. In discussing the state map, the report notes that because of possible errors and anticipated changes in the landscape, it would be essential to revise the map periodically. For this reason the board opposed transferring copyright of the map to a private publisher:

Should the State keep the copy right, the means of correcting and improving the map to correspond with the improvements of the country, appear to the Board to be both cheap and easy. Let all the district maps be engraved; place in the hands of the commissioners of the roads of each district an atlas containing all the district maps, and several copies of their respective districts. On these, as new settlements arise, new roads are laid out, or other objects present themselves, they can be delineated, and the errors of former surveys can be corrected.¹²

In its report for 1822 the Board of Public Works returned to the matter of the district surveys. "After the compilation of the general map was completed," it was noted, "these surveys were carefully put up, and are subject to the order of the legislature. It was suggested in the last annual report, that these surveys might be worthy of preservation and multiplication by having them engraved."¹³ The board went so far as to determine that the cost of printing 500 copies of each district map would be \$1,780, and that an atlas containing the twenty-eight maps could be sold for \$10.

Because the legislature did not authorize or appropriate funds for the proposed atlas and following discontinuation of the Board of Public Works, Robert Mills apparently decided to undertake the atlas project. In this he had the cooperation of his former board associate Abram Blanding, who had been appointed to the newly created post of superintendent of public works. In considering Blanding's report for 1823, a committee of the house observed:

By the report of the Superintendent it appears that he had entered in to a provisional contract with M^r. Robert Mills for publishing the District Surveys, by which the State will obtain at least twelve Atlases without any expence. Your Committee beg leave to recommend that this contract be sanctioned and that the Superintendent be directed to subscribe for Fifty Copies of the Atlas, which would be the means of enabling the State for the trifling sum of Six hundred dollars to furnish an Atlas to each Board of Commissioners of Roads.¹⁴

The recommendation was approved by both houses of the legislature and, presumably, copies of the manuscript district surveys were turned over to Mills.

During the next eighteen or twenty months, Mills redrafted the maps utilizing the original manuscripts. This was no simple task because, as noted earlier, the originals were prepared by nineteen different surveyors with varying skills and aptitudes. Some maps drawn at larger scales had to be converted to the two-miles-to-an-inch standard adopted for the atlas maps. The uniformity of cartographic style and lettering suggests that all the district maps in the atlas were personally drawn by Mills. With one or two exceptions, the original surveyors are given credit. All the maps, however, carry the inscription "Improved for Mills' Atlas" and the date 1825.

It is uncertain how much Mills improved on the manuscript surveys. Certainly he was thoroughly familiar with the major physical features of the state and with the internal improvements completed after the original surveys were made in 1817-21. He may possibly have conducted personal field checks in some districts and had other maps checked by local surveyors. Comparing district maps in the atlas with corresponding surviving manuscript maps reveals some minor differences in cartography and orthography.

Henry S. Tanner of Philadelphia, who engraved Wilson's 1822 map of South Carolina also received the contract to engrave the district maps. Mills

probably forwarded the redrafted maps to the engraver as they were completed. The earliest may have been sent around the beginning of 1825, with the final ones not delivered until a year or so later.

Although all the district maps are dated 1825, the atlas was not published until early the following year. Under the date December 15, 1825, in the *Journal of the South Carolina Senate*, it was "resolved that the Superintendent of Public Works be authorized to pay to Robert Mills fourteen dollars for each of the fifty copies of his Atlas instead of twelve dollars heretofore authorized and subscribed for in behalf of the State."¹⁵

Because the legislature only met for three or four weeks at the end of the year, Mills was not able to present his atlas to the senate until November 30, 1826. The presentation letter, recorded in the senate *Journal* on that date, reads:

To the honorable the President of the Senate of South Carolina

Sir,

I have the honor to present for the acceptance of the hon. the senate of South-Carolina, this copy of my Atlas of this State, which accompanies this letter; and to request that you will be pleased to [inform] the senate of my high consideration and respect. Very respectfully, sir, I have the honor to salute you.

Rob^t. Mills,

Columbia, Sept. 29, 1826¹⁶

In the early fall of 1826, eighty copies of the atlas had been delivered to the state, for which Mills received \$1,200. Mills also presented to the senate on December 1 a petition "offering to provide for the distribution of the district maps among the people, at such prices as may enable every citizen to possess the map of his own district."¹⁷ The petition was referred to a special committee and we may assume that the request was granted. Also during the 1826 session, Mills presented to the legislature "his large Map of South Carolina and . . . Statistics of South Carolina."¹⁸ The latter volume, which includes more than eight hundred pages of descriptive, historical, and statistical information about the state, was compiled by Mills as a supplement to his atlas.¹⁹

Since there appear to be no extant copies of Mills's "large Map of South Carolina," it is possible that the presentation copy was in manuscript. Whether manuscript or printed, the map as well as the copies of the atlas presented to the house and senate were apparently destroyed when Gen. William T.

Sherman burned the South Carolina State House during the Civil War.

Mills's atlas, as published, includes twenty-eight district maps, all at the uniform scale of two miles to an inch. Among the physical features mapped are bays, coastal features, rivers, creeks, branches, falls, cypress ponds, fish ponds, bluffs, gullies, lakes, islands, mountains, swamps, mineral springs, and woods. Names of property owners are given in all districts, making the atlas particularly useful today for genealogical and historical research. The maps are also rich in names of cities, towns, and villages and in such cultural features as battlefields, blacksmith shops, bridges, cabinet shops, canals, causeways, churches, schools and colleges, cotton factories, court houses, doctors' offices, ferries, fords, grist and saw mills, mines and quarries, dams, potteries, public houses and inns, tan yards, and rice fields. Maps in some extant copies have a pink wash around the district borders. The plates are printed in black ink and are generally arranged alphabetically by district names, although this pattern is not adhered to rigidly. The map of Charleston District, for example, is presented first in some extant volumes. Because the district maps are of varying sizes, nine of the twenty-eight plates are folded, while the other nineteen appear on double pages. All plates are fastened to tabs and bound within covers measuring approximately twenty-two by fifteen inches. From the few surviving volumes in contemporary binding, it appears that the most common format consisted of board covers with red leather spine and corners.

On a double-page spread in Mills's atlas, in lieu of a title page, there is a small map of the state bordered on three sides by descriptive information and chronological and statistical tables. Above the map is printed *Atlas of the State of South Carolina, Made under the Authority of the Legislature; Prefaced with a Geographical, Statistical and Historical Map of the State. By Robert Mills, of South Carolina, P.A. Engineer and Architect. To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of South Carolina, this work is respectfully inscribed by the author.* The frontispiece map proper measures $9\frac{1}{2}$ by $11\frac{1}{4}$ inches and is at the approximate scale of twenty-six miles to an inch. The imprint outside the bottom neat line reads "Published by F. Lucas, Jr., Baltimore, for Mills' Atlas. B. T. Welch & C^o S^c" The map with

its textual frame was printed by John D. Toy, also of Baltimore.

Inasmuch as Henry S. Tanner of Philadelphia engraved and printed the district maps for the atlas as well as John Wilson's 1822 South Carolina map, we may wonder why Mills chose Lucas to print the map which illustrates the frontispiece-title page. From his eight-year residence in Baltimore, Mills undoubtedly was acquainted with Fielding Lucas, who was active and prominent in civic affairs. His relations with Tanner were probably purely professional. In his informative paper "Baltimore Map-makers," Frank N. Jones states: "Lucas had lost the bid for providing the South Carolina legislature with an atlas to his good friend, Robert Mills, but Mills engaged Lucas to provide the maps, which were engraved for him by B. T. Welch and printed by John D. Toy."²⁰ Jones errs, of course, in suggesting that Lucas provided all the maps for the atlas.

Mills's selection of the Lucas map of South Carolina was very likely based on convenience and economy. Although Tanner had engraved Wilson's large map of the state, to reduce it to the size desired by Mills and to prepare an engraving would have required considerable time and would have been costly. A reduced map of South Carolina, derived wholly from Wilson's map, was joined with a map of North Carolina on one plate in Tanner's *New American Atlas*. To issue this South Carolina map separately would also have necessitated reengraving. Moreover, Tanner's map of the two Carolinas was at the scale of one inch to eighteen miles—as compared with one inch to twenty-six miles for the Lucas map—and would thus have limited the amount of descriptive data which could have been included on the sheet. Cost was a primary concern to Mills, who personally assumed most of the financial risk of publishing the atlas.

In 1823, Lucas also published *A General Atlas Containing Distinctive Maps of All the Known Countries in the World*. Among its maps was the B. T. Welch engraving of South Carolina. With no need for further compilation and engraving, Lucas no doubt was able to supply copies of the map, with printed matter, at a modest cost.

Actually two variants of the state map were used in Mills's atlas. The earlier version, which seems to be quite rare, is identical to the map in Lucas's 1823 atlas. This variant is reproduced in the Bostick and

5 Baltimore: Printed by John D. Tappan,
Corner of N. Paul and Market sts.

The militia of the state on this subject. The Governor-general, concerned inasmuch as many troops having command of the single a regiment, led by their own officers in speech-general, one as speaker, and a deputy-delegation, etc. The whole of the state.

Thornley facsimile edition of Mills's atlas, published in 1938. The road which extends northwest from Charleston through Columbia to the state boundary in Greenville County is not labeled on this state map. The imprint below the map reads "Drawn & Published by F. Lucas Jr. Baltimore. B. T. Welch & C^o S^r."

On all other copies of the frontispiece map examined, the state road is identified in five places and "for Mills' Atlas" has been added to the imprint, following "Baltimore." The map has been corrected and amended throughout to reflect such internal improvements as extension of the highway system, construction of canals, and the addition of such physical features as mountains, tributary streams, and springs. A number of historic sites—e.g., Revolutionary War battlefields—and several new place names have been inserted in the northern districts.

As a member of the Board of Internal Improvement and from his architectural and construction activities, Mills was thoroughly familiar with the state and particularly aware of the improvements that had been effected during the preceding four or five years. We may presume, therefore, that he found Lucas's 1823 map of South Carolina unsatisfactory. A small number of atlases with the uncorrected version of the map—e.g., the copy reproduced for the Bostick-Thornley facsimile—apparently were distributed before Mills had noted the outdated map and had arranged for it to be replaced. Fortunately, most extant copies of the atlas include the updated frontispiece map. A third variant of Lucas's small map was inserted in copies of Mills's *Statistics of South Carolina, 1826*. It is identical with the corrected frontispiece map, except for the imprint, which reads "Published by F. Lucas, Jr., Baltimore, for Mills' Atlas, & Statistics."

Because the cost of publishing the atlas was apparently greater than he had anticipated and since sales were disappointing, Mills sought aid from the legislature. In the petition he noted:

... the petitioner has at great labor and expense prepared and published all the Maps of the Districts of the State in the most finished style of Engraving but in consequence of the depression in the price of the staple article of the State [i.e., cotton], and the pecuniary difficulties resulting therefrom the sales of the maps have been much retarded, and your petitioner deprived of the means of meeting his Engagements with his Engraver. . . .²¹

The house, regrettably, denied Mills's request for a loan of \$1,500.²²

The petition submitted by Mills suggested the possibility of additional map purchases by the state in lieu of a loan. The senate acted favorably on this suggestion, with a notation in its *Journal* that a Special Committee recommended:

if any of the boards of commissioners of roads in this state have not been, as yet, supplied with the maps of their own & of the adjacent districts, that the Superintendent be instructed to procure the requisite number, & that he be authorized to obtain from the Comptroller-general the requisite warrant for the purpose on the treasurer of the upper or lower divisions as may be desirable.²³

This action provided some relief for Mills's financial plight, but it was obvious to him by this time that further professional opportunities in South Carolina were limited. As early as October 1826 he had dispatched letters to contacts in Washington offering his talents and services to the federal government. A letter to the secretary of war notes: "My engagements in South Carolina will close with the year [1826]. . . ." And in a March 31, 1827, letter to Charles Nourse, son of the register of the federal treasury, Mills requested assistance in securing an appointment with the Engineer Corps:

... I have been engaged for the last six or seven years in the work of Internal Improvement in this state—This work is now brought nearly to a close, and my professional engagements with it—I have felt desirous to enter into the service of the general government even at a moderate salary rather than run the risk of getting a large salary from the state governments, as I believe there would be more stability in office under the former.²⁴

Nothing apparently came of these requests, and in 1828 Mills again petitioned the South Carolina legislature to purchase more copies of the atlas and the district maps. In an August 15, 1829, letter to President Andrew Jackson, Mills stated: "The opportunity now offered by your residence at Washington enables me to gratify my wishes . . . and I shall regard it as a favor, your acceptance of the *Atlas of the State of South Carolina*, with a *Statistical history* of the same, both of which I have directed to be forwarded to you from Philadelphia."²⁵ In a postscript, Mills informed the president that he was applying to the secretary of war for possible employment. This effort brought favorable action, and in 1830 President Jackson appointed Robert Mills federal architect and engineer. Mills spent the re-

mainder of his life in Washington where he designed a number of federal buildings as well as the Washington Monument.

He did not, however, abandon interest in his atlas. His petition in 1837 to the South Carolina legislature for \$2,000 to redeem the copper plates of the district maps, which were still held by the engraver, was favorably acted upon. With ownership of the copper plates assured, Mills prepared a revised edition of the *Atlas of South Carolina*, which was published in 1838. The frontispiece map in this edition is credited to a new printer, "J. & W. Kite Printers, Philadelphia," the imprint reads "Published by A. Finley, Philad^a," and the descriptive and statistical data have been updated to 1838. "South" is spelled out in the name of the state in the lower left corner of the map, whereas it is abbreviated "Sth" in earlier editions. The South Carolina railroad running from Charleston to Augusta has been added, and in the northwest two new districts, Pickens and Anderson, have been formed from Pendleton District. A number of district and city names have been relettered to parallel more closely the bottom margin of the map. There are several new cities shown, the road system is extended in some areas, and mountain symbols cover a larger area in Pickens District. A major change in the district maps is the addition of a boundary line and relettering of the former Pendleton District map to read "Pickens & Anderson, formerly Pendleton District." The 1825 date has been removed from all district maps. The 1838 edition of Mills's atlas apparently had a limited sale. There is, for example, no copy of it in the Library of Congress, and only two extant copies are identified in volume 2 of LeGear's *United States Atlases* (1953), which lists holdings in more than 130 U.S. libraries.

Although he failed in 1840 to sell the engraved plates of the district maps to the South Carolina

General Assembly, Mills was still hopeful of salvaging something of his investment in time and money. In 1847 he petitioned the legislature for aid in preparing new and updated editions of the district maps. Tabling of this request by the legislature seems to have terminated Mills's association with the *Atlas of South Carolina*.

As noted previously, a slightly reduced, limited-edition facsimile in 350 copies was published in 1938 by Lucy Hampton Bostick and Fant H. Thornley. Francis Marion Hutson of the Historical Commission of South Carolina prepared the introduction. This facsimile edition, which reproduces an early version of the Fielding Lucas map of South Carolina on the frontispiece-title page, contains an index, with names listed alphabetically by district.

In 1965 Robert Pearce Wilkins and John Keels published another facsimile edition in Columbia, South Carolina, with an introduction by Charles E. Lee. It appears in an enlarged format which permits a number of the maps to be bound without folds. The pink wash borders are omitted on the district maps in the 1965 edition, and, unlike the 1938 atlas, the later reproduction has no index.

We pay tribute to Robert Mills's *Atlas of the State of South Carolina* for the astronomical and scientific surveys upon which the district maps were based, for its unchallenged position as the first atlas of a separate state, and for the impetus it gave to local and regional cartography in the early decades of the nineteenth century. We recognize, too, the dedicated and self-sacrificing personal effort of Robert Mills in carrying through to completion the compilation and publication of his atlas. Monuments to the architectural genius of Mills still survive in several cities of America's eastern seaboard. His South Carolina atlas is the sole record of his contribution to the history of cartography in the United States.

Notes

1. Henry Schenck Tanner, *Memoir on the Recent Surveys, Observations, and Internal Improvements, in the United States, with Brief Notices of the New Counties, Towns, Villages, Canals, and Railroads, Never Before De-lined*, 1st ed. (Philadelphia, 1829), p. 31.

2. South Carolina, House of Representatives, *Journal*, December 13, 1815, pp. 128-29.

3. *Ibid.*, December 16, 1816, p. 170.

4. Robert Mills, *Mills' Atlas of South Carolina; an Atlas of South Carolina in 1825* (Columbia: R. P. Wilkins & J. D. Keels, Jr., 1965), introduction.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Ibid.*

9. David Kohn and Bess Glenn, eds., *Internal Improve-*

ment in South Carolina, 1817-1828 (Washington, 1938), pp. 99-100.

10. Tanner, *Memoir*, p. 31.
11. South Carolina, House of Representatives, *Journal*, December 19, 1823, p. 201.
12. Kohn and Glenn, *Internal Improvement*, p. 104.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 146.
14. South Carolina, House of Representatives, *Journal*, December 19, 1823, p. 202.
15. South Carolina, Senate, *Journal*, December 15, 1825, p. 178.
16. *Ibid.*, November 30, 1826, p. 26.
17. *Ibid.*, December 1, 1826, p. 31.
18. South Carolina, House of Representatives, *Journal*, December 13, 1826, p. 170.
19. Robert Mills, *Statistics of South Carolina, Including a View of Its Natural, Civil, and Military History*,

General and Particular (Charleston: Hurlbut and Lloyd, 1826).

20. Frank N. Jones, "Baltimore Mapmakers," *Surveying and Mapping* 21 (December 1961): 489.
21. From an original manuscript in the South Carolina Collection, University of South Carolina Library. Reproduced in Kohn and Glenn, *Internal Improvement*, pp. 118-19.
22. South Carolina, House of Representatives, *Journal*, December 10, 1827, p. 171.
23. South Carolina, Senate, *Journal*, December 14, 1827, p. 186.
24. Robert Mills, *Some Letters of Robert Mills, Engineer and Architect* (Columbia: Historical Commission of South Carolina, 1938), pp. 8-9.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

Some Recent Publications of the Library of Congress¹

Folklore from Africa to the United States: An Annotated Bibliography. 1976. 161 p. \$4.50. Compiled by Margaret N. Coughlan of the Children's Book Section. The 190 entries in this selective bibliography describe works available in the collections of the Library of Congress. The titles were chosen because they "shed light on the cultures out of which the tales arose and are fruitful sources for retellings for children." The geographical arrangement includes Sub-Saharan Africa, West Africa, Southern Africa, Central Africa, East Africa, the West Indies, and the United States. The bibliography is limited to English-language items except for a few French-language items for Africa and the West Indies. Indexed and illustrated.

From Feathers to Iron. 1976. 16 p. 35 cents. By Stanley Kunitz, Consultant in Poetry in English at the Library of

Congress, 1974-76. In his discussion, Kunitz quotes several poems, including Keats's "To Autumn," Hopkins's "The Windhover," and his own "Green Ways." Contains a list of other publications on literature issued by the Library of Congress.

Illusion and Reality. 1976. 18 p. 50 cents. By Virginia Hamilton, an author of books for young people. This lecture was presented under the auspices of the Gertrude Clarke Whittall Poetry and Literature Fund at the Library of Congress on November 17, 1975, in observance of National Children's Book Week. Includes a list of other publications on literature issued by the Library.

Latin America, Spain, and Portugal: An Annotated Bibliography of Paperback Books. Second revised edition. 1976. 323 p. \$3. Hispanic Foundation Bibliographical Series, no. 14. Compiled by Georgette M. Dorn of the Latin American, Portuguese, and Spanish Division. This edition lists over twenty-two-hundred titles relating to the Hispanic-Luso-American world that are currently available in paperback editions. All fields in the humanities and the social sciences are covered. The bibliography is divided into three alphabetically arranged sections: Latin America; Spain and Portugal; and Dictionaries, Grammars, Readers, and Textbooks. A subject index and a list of publishers are also included.

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Publications for the Bicentennial of the American Revolution¹

The American Revolution: A Selected Reading List. 1968. 38 p. \$1. Presents numerous approaches to the Revolution, ranging from eyewitness accounts by the men and women involved in the struggle for independence to recent scholarly evaluations.

The American Revolution in Drawings and Prints: A Checklist of 1765-1790 Graphics in the Library of Congress. 1975. 455 p. \$14.35. The 921-item checklist was compiled by Donald H. Cresswell. Liberally illustrated, the book is divided into five sections covering portraits, events, views, cartoons and allegories, and weapons, implements, and fortifications. Appendixes and Indexes.

Americana in Children's Books. 1974. 28 p. \$1.25. Catalog of an exhibition of rare eighteenth and nineteenth century children's books, including early works published in America and later contributions of famous American writers and illustrators. Produced through the Lessing J. Rosenwald Publication Fund. For sale by the Information Office, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 20540.

The Boston Massacre, 1770, engraved by Paul Revere. Library of Congress Facsimile No. 4. \$2. A full-color facsimile of the famous engraving is presented in a red folder which forms a mat for the print. A description of the events leading to the massacre and to the production of the engraving appears on the folder. Produced through the Verner W. Clapp Publication Fund. For sale by the Information Office, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 20540.

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Children's Reading in America, 1776: A Selection of Titles. 1976. 12 p. Single copies free upon request to the Library of Congress, Central Services Division, Washington, D.C. 20540. Compiled by Virginia Haviland, Children's Book Section. A bibliography of primers, stories, rhymes, and other reading matter available to American children in 1776.

Creating Independence, 1763-1789: Background Reading for Young People. 1972. 62 p. \$1.45. An annotated list of books on the Revolution, including general histories, biographies, and novels. Introduction by Richard B. Morris. Illustrations from contemporary sources.

A Decent Respect to the Opinions of Mankind: Congressional State Papers, 1774-1776. 1975. 154 p. \$5.85. Compiled and edited by James H. Hutson, coordinator, American Revolution Bicentennial Office. Collects and annotates the series of papers which the Continental Congress issued to explain to the world the controversy between the American colonies and Great Britain.

English Defenders of American Freedoms, 1774-1778. 1972. 231 p. \$5.95. Six pamphlets attacking British policy after the North Ministry turned to coercion, written by Jonathan Shipley, Bishop of St. Asaph; John Cartwright; Matthew Robinson-Morris, Baron Rokeby; Catharine Macaulay; and Willoughby Bertie, Earl of Abingdon.

The John Dunlap Broadside: The First Printing of the Declaration of Independence. 1976. 61 p. \$15 casebound and slipcase; \$7 paperbound. By Frederick R. Goff. On the night of July 4-5, 1776, John Dunlap printed broadsides of the Declaration of Independence for distribution by the Continental Congress to committees, assemblies, and commanding officers of the army throughout the states. The twenty-one extant broadsides, reproduced in this report, were examined individually to confirm the identity of the proof copy, determine the conditions of their printing, and describe the watermarks of the various papers used. Two distinct states of the printing were identified. Produced through the Jane Engelhard Fund and the Ford Foundation. For sale by the Information Office, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 20540.

Manuscript Sources in the Library of Congress for Research on the American Revolution. 1975. 372 p. \$8.70. A

guide to documents, including reproductions, in the Library pertaining to the period between 1763 and 1789. It is divided into domestic collections and foreign reproductions. For each collection a description of the materials and information about the principal figures are given. Indexed.

To Set a Country Free. 1975. 75 p. \$4.50. An account derived from an exhibition in the Library of Congress, commemorating the 200th anniversary of American independence and the 175th anniversary of the establishment of the Library. The essay on the events preceding and during the Revolution is richly illustrated with more than one hundred reproductions, eight in full color, of manuscripts, maps, prints, and rare books, the great majority of which are in the Library's collections. Produced through the Verner W. Clapp Publication Fund. For sale by the Information Office, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 20540.

Twelve Flags of the American Revolution. 1974. 13 p. \$1.25. This catalog to accompany a Bicentennial exhibition depicts the flags in both black and white and color and gives notes on their origins and symbolism. Produced through the Verner W. Clapp Publication Fund. For sale by the Information Office, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 20540.

Two Rebuses from the American Revolution. Library of Congress Facsimiles No. 5-1 and 5-2. \$2.50. Two facsimiles, each approximately 10 x 14 inches and suitable for framing, of rebuses published by Matthew Darly, a London caricaturist, in 1778 as satiric comments on England's attempt to negotiate peace that year with the colonists. Translations of the rebuses and a note on the historical background are included on the folder. Produced through the Verner W. Clapp Publication Fund. For sale by the Information Office, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 20540.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS SYMPOSIA ON THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Symposia and publications made possible through a grant from the Morris and Gwendolyn Cafritz Foundation. For sale by the Information Office, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 20540.

The Development of a Revolutionary Mentality. 1972. 158 p. \$3.50. Papers and commentaries presented at the first Library of Congress symposium on the American Revolution, held May 5 and 6, 1972. The participants are Richard B. Morris, Henry S. Commager, Caroline Robbins, J. H. Plumb, Richard Bushman, Edmund S. Morgan,

Pauline Maier, Jack P. Greene, Mary Beth Norton, and Esmond Wright.

Fundamental Testaments of the American Revolution. 1973. 120 p. \$3.50. Papers presented on May 10 and 11, 1973, at the second of five symposia. Introduction by Julian P. Boyd. Papers by Bernard Bailyn, Cecelia M. Kenyon, Merrill Jensen, Richard B. Morris, and James Russell Wiggins.

Leadership in the American Revolution. 1974. 135 p. \$4.50. Papers delivered at the third Library of Congress symposium on the American Revolution, May 9 and 10, 1974. Opening remarks by L. H. Butterfield and papers by Alfred H. Kelly, Marcus Cunliffe, Gordon S. Wood, Don Higginbotham, and Bruce Mazlish.

The Impact of the American Revolution Abroad. 1976. 171 p. \$4.50. Papers presented at the fourth Library of Congress Symposium on the American Revolution, May 8 and 9, 1975. Introduction by Richard B. Morris. Papers by R. R. Palmer, Claude Fohlen, J. W. Schulte Nordholt, J. H. Plumb, N. N. Bolkhovitinov, Mario Rodríguez, and Owen Dudley Edwards. Commentaries by Erich Angermann, Nagayo Homma, and Ignacio Rubio Mañé.

The American Revolution: A Continuing Commitment. 1976. 90 p. \$4.50. Papers presented at the fifth Library of Congress symposium on the American Revolution, May 6 and 7, 1976. Introductions by David A. Shannon. Papers by Paul A. Freund, Clarence Clyde Ferguson, Jr., Erik Barnouw, W. McNeil Lowry, Margaret Mead, and Harlan Cleveland.

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